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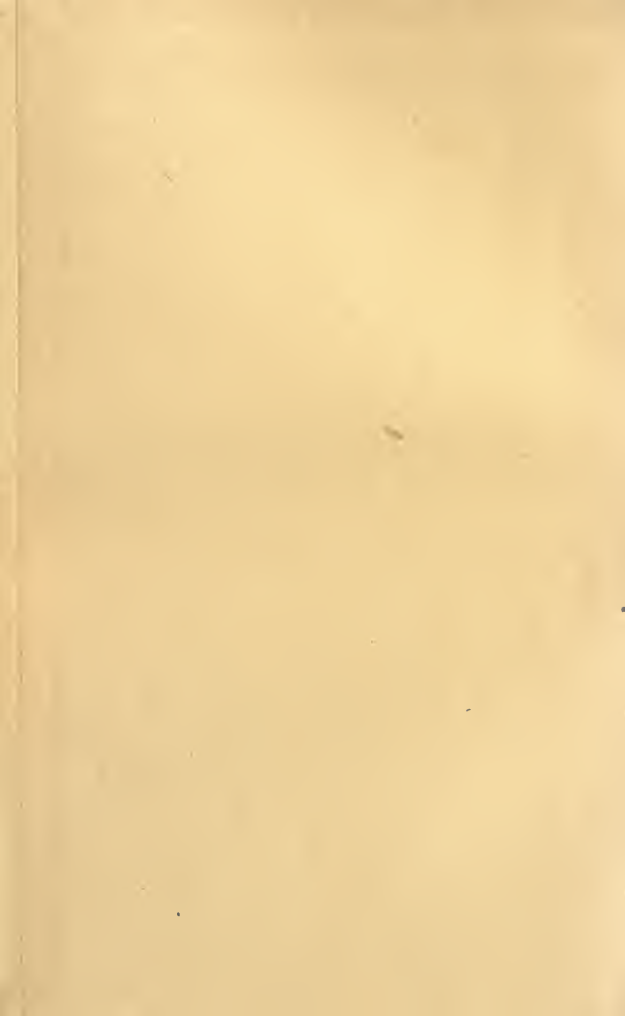
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# CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY.

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## LIFE OF JOSEPH HALL, D.D.

*Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards of Norwich.*

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## THE LIFE OF JOSEPH HALL, D.D.

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THE life and character of the learned and pious bishop Hall are best illustrated from his own writings, which show him to have been one of the brightest ornaments of the church of Christ. It is much to be regretted, that none of his contemporaries have left on record a complete biographical account of this excellent divine; but the period in which he lived was not favourable for those delineations of character which have rendered the memoirs of later ministers of the gospel so interesting and instructive. The minds of men were influenced by painful differences; and thus circumstances of those times, in which perhaps both parties were to blame, and which it must be wished had been forgotten, have been remembered and described, rather than the genuine piety, the holy faith, and the zealous energy for their Master's work, which were so largely evidenced by this and other eminent servants of Christ.

Bishop Hall's account of himself, written with his own hand, of course supplies the best materials for his biographers. It commences with the following beautiful statement of his views in recording the principal occurrences of his life.

“Not out of a vain affectation of my own glory, which I know how little it can avail me when I am gone hence; but out of a sincere desire to give glory to my God, whose wonderful providence I have noted in all my ways, I have recorded some remarkable passages of my forepast life. What I have done is worthy of nothing but silence and forgetfulness; but what God hath done for me, is worthy of everlasting and thankful memory.”

He proceeds:—“I was born July 1, 1574, in Bristow Park, within the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch,

a town in Leicestershire, of honest and well-allowed parentage. My father was an officer under that truly honourable and religious Henry earl of Huntingdon, president of the north, and under him had the government of that market town. My mother, Winifred, of the house of the Bambridges, was a woman of that rare sanctity, that were it not for my interest in her, I durst say, that neither Aleth, the mother of that just honour of Clairval (Bernard), nor Monica, nor any other of those pious matrons, antiently famous for devotion, need disdain her admittance to comparison. She was continually exercised with the affliction of a weak body, and oft a wounded spirit—the agonies whereof she would oft recount with much vehemency, professing that the greatest bodily sicknesses were but flea-bites to those scorpions—but from them all, at last, she found a happy and comfortable deliverance, and that not without a more than ordinary hand of God.”

From bishop Hall’s account, it appears that his mother’s thoughts, sleeping as well as waking, being deeply exercised in the manner above stated, a hope of deliverance was impressed upon her mind; but upon finding this to be a dream she became yet more disconsolate. While in this state, she was visited by Anthony Gilby, who was a pious and zealous non-conformist, and had been an exile in the reign of queen Mary. He combated her despondency, and urged her to take comfort from the divine promises, and to derive encouragement even from what she had so lately experienced. Bishop Hall proceeds, “Hereupon she began to take heart, and by good counsel, and by her fervent prayer, found that happy prediction verified to her; and upon all occasions, in the remainder of her life, was ready to magnify the mercy of her God in so sensible a deliverance. What with the trial of both these hands of God, she had so profited in the school of Christ, that it was hard for any friend not to come from her discourse in a holier frame. How often have

I blessed the memory of those divine passages of experimental divinity, which I have heard from her mouth ! What day did she pass without a large portion of private devotion ; whence she would still come forth with a countenance of undissembled mortification. Never any lips have read to me such feeling lectures of piety ; neither have I known any soul, that more accurately practised them, than her own. Temptations, desertions, and spiritual comforts were her usual theme. In short, for I can hardly take off my pen from so exemplary a subject, her life and death were saint-like.

“ My parents had from my infancy devoted me to this sacred calling, whereto, by the blessing of God, I have seasonably attained. For this cause I was trained up in the public school of the place. After I had spent some years, (not altogether idly,) under such masters as the place afforded, and had nearly attained to some competent ripeness for the university, my schoolmaster, being a great admirer of one Mr. Pelset, who was then lately come from Cambridge to be the public preacher of Leicester, a man very eminent in those times, for the fame of his learning, but especially for his sacred oratory, persuaded my father, that if I might have my education under so excellent and complete a divine, it might be both a nearer and easier way to his purposed end, than by an academical institution. The motion sounded well in my father’s ears, and carried fair probabilities ; neither was it any other than pre-compacted betwixt my schoolmaster and Mr. Pelset, so as, on both sides, it was entertained with great forwardness.”

He then relates, that the largeness of his father’s family made him the more desirous to adopt this plan, as less expensive than a university education, and having the same end in view ; but his elder brother having occasion to visit Cambridge, was there entertained by Mr. Nathaniel Gilby, of Emanuel College, who being acquainted with Joseph Hall, inquired after

him ; and upon learning their father's intention, he earnestly objected to such a proceeding. The elder brother returning home, repeated his conversation with Mr. Gilby, and earnestly intreated their father to renew his first purpose, adding, that if the expense were the hindrance, he besought him rather to sell some part of the land which was his inheritance, than abridge his younger brother of the means of obtaining what in that day was esteemed a more perfect education. Mr. Hall, moved by this rare and commendable instance of fraternal love, agreed that his younger son should be sent to Cambridge.

The pious bishop observes, "What was the issue? O God, thy providence made and found it—thou knowest how sincerely and heartily, in those my young years, I did cast myself upon thy hands ; with what faithful resolution, on this particular occasion, I resigned myself over to thy disposal, earnestly begging of thee, in my fervent prayers, to order all things for the best, and confidently waiting upon thy will. Certainly, never did I, in all my life, more clearly cast myself upon thy divine providence, than I did in this business, and it succeeded accordingly."—All who thus cast their burden upon the Lord will find that he will sustain them, and direct their paths.

He afterwards expresses his joy at this change in his father's designs, and says, "I should have been lost if that project had succeeded, as it appeared in the experience of him who took that place which was by me so unexpectedly forsaken." We find that he soon after was removed to Cambridge, and placed at Emmanuel College, under the tuition of Mr. Gilby, when fifteen years of age. At that time the universities were, in many respects, very different from what they now are, and youths were placed at them when very young. Joseph Hall was there chamber-fellow with a school-fellow, Hugh Cholmley ; they had been "partners of one lesson from their cradles." He then says—

"My two first years were necessarily chargeable



above the proportion of my father's power; whose not very large cistern was to feed many pipes besides mine. His weariness of expense was wrought upon by the counsel of some unwise friends, who persuaded him to fasten me upon that school as master, whereof I was lately a scholar. Now was I fetched home with a heavy heart; and now this second time had my hopes been nipt in the blossom, had not God raised me up an unhoped-for benefactor, Mr. Edmund Sleigh, of Derby, whose pious memory I have cause ever to love and reverence; who, though no relation to me, save that he married my aunt, yet pitying my too apparent dejection, voluntarily urged, and solicited my father for my return to the university, and offered freely to contribute the one-half of my maintenance there till I should attain to the degree of Master of Arts; which he no less really and lovingly performed. The condition was gladly accepted, thither was I sent back with joy enough, and ere long chosen scholar of that strict and well-ordered college." This must have been in 1591 or 2; at that time, and for many years after, Emmanuel College was noted for having a large proportion of pious characters amongst its members.

When he had been six years at the university, in 1595, "a place," probably a school, in the island of Guernsey was offered to him; and as the supply for his maintenance at college would soon cease, he purposed to accept it. There seemed no probability of his obtaining a fellowship in Emmanuel College, the statutes only admitting one of a county, and his tutor was of the same town as himself. At this juncture his chamber-fellow, Mr. Cholmley, had occasion to go to York, to the earl of Huntingdon, who inquired after Joseph Hall, and hearing the probability of his removal, and the cause, he at once offered to make Mr. Gilby his domestic chaplain, and otherwise provide for him, if he would resign, so that Hall might have an opportunity to be chosen in his room. Mr. Gilby assented and resigned, and the days for the public

examination of the competitors were appointed. In the midst of the examination, information was received of the death of the earl of Huntingdon, whereby Mr. Gilby was left unprovided. Upon hearing of this, Joseph Hall went to Dr. Chaderton, the master, (who was afterwards one of the translators of the Bible,) and besought him that the election might be stayed, and his tutor re-instated, as his own youth exposed him less to necessity, and gave him better opportunity for seeking a provision elsewhere. But the place having been pronounced vacant, there was no remedy, another person must be selected, and he says, "Thus was I, with a cheerful unanimity, chosen into that society; which, if it had any equals, I dare say had none beyond it, for good order, studious carriage, strict government, austere piety; in which I spent six or seven years more, with such contentment as the rest of my life hath in vain striven to yield.

"Now was I called to public disputations often, with no ill success; for never durst I appear in any of those exercises of scholarship, till I had from my knees looked up to Heaven for a blessing, and renewed my actual dependance upon that divine hand." Bishop Hall in this, as in many other instances, has left an example which cannot be too constantly borne in mind by pious students at the universities, and at every academical institution. A valuable modern writer has well observed, "*If divine teaching is so necessary, prayer is the great pre-requisite in all our studies.* We need to have this urgently enforced, as we suffer the greatest loss in our everlasting concerns by reading without prayer. We read much, we pray little. The best proficients have been those who prayed most. Dr. Doddridge used frequently to observe, that he never advanced well in human learning without prayer; and that he always made the most proficiency in his studies, when he prayed with the greatest frequency and fervour. In fact, all our knowledge, of every kind, should be made the subject of prayer, both as to its

attainment and its application, or we have no security that it will not be perverted, rather than improved, and draw the heart from God rather than draw it near to Him; be used against Him rather than for him; and puff up with pride, rather than humble us in the deeper discovery of our ignorance. But knowledge which is preceded by prayer for its acquisition and right application, will be a real blessing to ourselves and to others; it will not deaden, but promote spiritual affections.”—(*Christian Student*, p. 55, 56.)

Mr. Hall proceeds, “Two years together was I chosen to the rhetoric lecture in the public schools; where I was encouraged with a sufficient attendance of auditors. But finding that well-applauded work somewhat out of my way, not without a secret blame of myself for so much excursion, I fairly gave up that task, in the midst of those poor acclamations, and betook myself to those serious studies, which might fit me for that high calling whereunto I was destined; wherein, after I had carefully employed myself for a time, I took the boldness to enter into sacred orders. The honour whereof having once attained, I was no niggard of that talent which my God had intrusted to me, preaching often as occasion was offered, in country villages abroad, and at home in the most awful auditory of the university.”

The reader will not object to a remark upon this subject from the work already quoted. The author fully admits the importance of human learning, in its proper degree, and that all students are to attend to their prescribed duties; but he observes, there is “need for special watchfulness against that eagerness after literary honors and distinctions, to which the natural heart is abundantly of itself prone, and to which there are such extraordinary incitements at the present day. Henry Martyn seems to have been deeply sensible of the spiritual danger of an intense application to academical studies, and even his zeal was for a moment relaxed in the bright sunshine of those honors which he

acquired.”—*Christian Student*, p. 409. We see that Joseph Hall had the same conviction two centuries before.

Fuller speaks highly of bishop Hall's application, and says, that he passed all his degrees with great applause; the intenseness with which he engaged in his studies appears from a letter to his school-fellow Cholmley, which probably was written in reply to a remonstrance against his over application. He says, “Fear not my immoderate studies; I have a body that controls me enough in these courses; my friends need not. There is nothing whereof I could sooner surfeit, if I durst neglect my body to satisfy my mind; but while I affect knowledge, my weakness checks me, and says, ‘Better a little learning than no health.’ I yield, and patiently abide myself debarred of my chosen felicity. The little I can get, I am no niggard of; neither am I more desirous to gather than willing to impart.”

During his residence at college, bishop Hall wrote his Satires, in six books. Of this work it is sufficient to say, that the poetry is respectable, and that his muse was earnest in the cause of virtue. He speaks of himself as the first English satirist; would that all who followed him had manifested a like spirit.

The narrative proceeds, “And now I did but wait where and how it would please my God to employ me. There was at that time a most famous school erected at Tiverton, in Devonshire, and endowed with a very large pension, whose goodly fabric was answerable to the reported maintenance; the care whereof was, by the rich and bountiful Mr. Blundel, (the founder,) cast principally upon the then lord chief justice Popham. That faithful observer moved Dr. Chaderton to recommend some able, learned, and discreet governor to that weighty charge, whose actions would not need to be so much at his oversight. It pleased our master, out of his good opinion, to tender this unto me, assuring me of no small advantages and no great toil, since it was intended that the main load of the work should lie upon other shoulders. I apprehended the

motion well worth entertaining. In that severe society, our times (length of residence at college) were limited. Dr. Chaderton carried me to London, and the judge seemed well content with the choice; I promised acceptance, and he the strength of his favor.

“No sooner had I parted from the judge, than in the street a messenger presented me with a letter from the right virtuous and worthy lady Drury, of Suffolk, tendering me the rectory of Halsted, then newly vacant, and very earnestly desiring me to accept of it. Dr. Chaderton observing in me some change of countenance, asked me what the matter might be. I told him, and delivered him the letter; when he had read it, I said, Sir, methinks God directs in this matter, and tells me it is his will I should rather go to the east than to the west. Nay, answered he, I should rather think that God would have you go westward, for he hath contrived your engagement before the reception of this letter, which, because of its coming too late, may receive a fair and easy answer. I besought him to pardon my dissent to this, adding, that I well knew that divinity was the end whereto I was destined by my parents, which I had so constantly proposed to myself, that I never meant other than to pass through this western school to it; but I saw that God who found me ready to go the furthest way about, now called me the nearest and most direct way to that sacred end. The good man could no further oppose, but only pleaded the distaste which would hereupon be justly taken by the lord chief justice, whom I undertook fully to satisfy; which I did with no great difficulty, commending to his lordship, in my room, my old friend and chamber-fellow Mr. Cholmley, who disposed himself to the place. So as we two came to the university together we must now leave it at once.

Having then fixed my foot in Halsted, (A. D. 1601, I found there a dangerous opposer to the success of my ministry—a witty and bold atheist, one Mr. Lilly who by reason of his travels and abilities of discourse

and behaviour, had so deeply insinuated himself into my patron, sir Robert Drury, that there was small hope for me to work any good upon that noble patron of mine, who, by the suggestions of this wicked detractor, was set off from me before he knew me. Hereupon, I confess, finding the obduracy and hopeless condition of that man, I bent my prayers against him, beseeching God daily, that he would be pleased to remove, by some means or other, that apparent hindrance of my faithful labors, who gave an answer accordingly. For this malicious man, going hastily to London to exasperate my patron against me, was then and there swept away by the pestilence, and never returned to do any further mischief. Now the coast was clear before me, and I gained every day the good opinion and favorable respects of that honorable gentleman and my worthy neighbours."

A letter written about this time by bishop Hall to his brother Samuel, shows his sense of the ministerial function, and contains advice both as to preparation for the office and performance of its duties. An extract may be given; "Know that in this place there will be more holiness required of you, than in the ordinary station of a christian. For whereas before, you were but as in a common line, now God sets you for a copy of sanctification unto others, wherein every fault is both notable and dangerous. Here is looked for, a settled acquaintance with God, and experience both of the proceedings of grace, and of the offers and repulses of temptations; which in vain we shall hope to manage in other hearts, if we have not found in our own. To speak by aim or rote, of repentance, of contrition, of the degrees of regeneration and faith, is both harsh, and mostly unprofitable. We trust those physicians best who have tried and seen the virtue of their drugs; not esteeming those who have only borrowed of their books."

Of the minister's family, he says, "Neither will it serve you to be thus good alone; but if God shall give



you the honor of this estate, the world will look that you should be the grave guide of a well-ordered family. For this is proper (peculiar) to us, that the vices of our charge reflect upon us; the sins of others are our reproach. If another man's children miscarry, the parent is pitied; if a minister's, he is censured; yea, not our servant is faulty without our blemish. In all these occasions, and it is a misery incident to us alone, our grief is our shame."

Referring again to the duties of the ministerial office, he says, "Whether he instruct, he must do it with evidence of the Spirit; or whether he reprove, with courage and zeal; or whether he exhort, with meekness, and yet with power; or whether he confute, with demonstration of truth; not with rage or personal maliciousness, not with a wilful heat of contradiction: or whether he admonish, with long suffering and love; without prejudice and partiality: in a word, all these he so doth, as he that desires nothing but to honor God and save men."

He concludes thus, "I have said little of any of our duties, and of some nothing; yet I have said enough, I think, to make you, if not timorous, yet careful. Neither would I have you hereupon to hide yourself from this calling, but to prepare yourself for it. These times call for them that are faithful; and if they may spare some learning, conscience they cannot. Go on happily; it argues a mind christianly noble, to be encouraged with the need of his labors, and with the difficulties."

To return to the narrative, bishop Hall next gives an account of his settlement in life. It is too characteristic both of those times and of the individual himself, not to be given in his own words, although they may perhaps excite a smile from some modern readers. He says, "Being now settled in that sweet and civil county of Suffolk, near to St. Edmund's-bury, my first work was to build up my house, which was extremely

ruinous; which done, the uncouth solitariness of my life, and the extreme incommodity of that single housekeeping, drew my thoughts, after two years, to condescend to the necessity of a married state, in which God no less strangely provided for me. For walking from the church on Monday, in Whitsun week, with a grave and reverend minister, Mr. Grandridge, I saw a comely and modest gentlewoman standing at the door of a house where we were invited to a wedding dinner, and enquiring of that worthy friend whether he knew her;—‘Yes,’ said he, ‘I know her very well, and have bespoken her for your wife.’ When I demanded a further account, he told me she was the daughter of a gentleman whom he much respected, Mr. George Winniff, of Bretenham: that out of an opinion of the fitness of that match for me, he had already treated with her father about it, whom he found disposed to entertain it, advising me not to neglect the opportunity; and not concealing the just praises of modesty, piety, good disposition, and other virtues that were lodged in that seemly presence. I listened to the motion as sent from God, and, at last, upon due prosecution, I happily prevailed, enjoying the comfortable society of that meet help for the space of forty-nine years.”

Whatever we may think of the manner in which the good minister has expressed his views for forming this engagement, it is evident that his union was entered upon in the fear of the Lord, and with prayer for the divine blessing, and we see that the blessing was not withheld. Many passages in bishop Hall’s works, which refer to the married state, evidently show that he was happy in his marriage. This especially enabled him to contend with much power and success, against the doctrines and practice of that church, which has assumed to itself a mark of antichrist, “Forbidding to marry.” We shall have again to notice bishop Hall’s affection for his wife when we speak of her decease.

His family was large,—three of them were ministers,



—one of them, George, was bishop of Chester. In his Balm of Gilead he speaks of the cares of parents for their children, and adds, “ I remember a great man coming to my house at Waltham, and seeing all my children standing in the order of their age and stature, he said, ‘ These are they that make rich men poor.’ He straight received this answer : ‘ Nay, my lord, these are they that make a poor man rich ; for there is not one of these whom we would part with, for all your wealth.’ Indeed, wherefore do we receive but to distribute ? and what are we but the farmers of those we leave behind us ? And if we do freely lay out our substance beforehand for their good, so much of our rent is happily cleared.

“ It is easy to observe that none are so gripple and hard-fisted as the childless : whereas those who, for the maintenance of large families, are inured to frequent disbursements, find such experience of divine providence in the faithful managing of their affairs, that they lay out with more cheerfulness than they receive. Wherein their care must be abated, when God takes it off from them to himself ; and, if they be not wanting to themselves, their faith gives them ease in casting their burden upon Him, who hath both more power and more right to it, since our children are more his than our own. He that feedeth the young ravens (Ps. cxlvii. 9), can he fail the best of his creatures ?

“ Worthy master Greenham tells us of a gentlewoman, who, coming to the cottage of a poor neighbour, and seeing it furnished with children, said, ‘ Here are the mouths, but where is the meat ?’ But not long after, she was paid in her own coin : for the poor woman coming to her, after the burial of her last and then only child, inverted the question upon her ; ‘ Here is the meat, but where are the mouths ?’ ”

The narrative next gives an account of Mr. Hall’s travels on the continent, in 1605. He says, “ My noble friend, sir Edmund Bacon, with whom I had a particular friendship, came to me, and earnestly solicited my

company in a journey to the Spa ; laying before me the safety, the easiness, the pleasure, and the benefit of that small excursion, if opportunity were taken at that time, when the earl of Hertford passed as ambassador to the archduke Albert of Brussels. I soon yielded, for the reasons urged by him, but more especially for the great desire I had to inform myself, ocularly, of the state and practice of the Romish church, the knowledge whereof might be of no small use to me in my holy station. Having, therefore, taken a careful order for a supply to my charge, with the assent and good allowance of my nearest friends, I entered on this secret voyage.

“ We waited for some days at Harwich, for a wind which we hoped might waft us over to Dunkirk, where our ambassador had lately landed. But at last, after having spent a day and half a night at sea, we were forced from want of favor from the wind, to put in at Queenborough ; from whence coasting over the rich and pleasant county of Kent, we renewed our shipping at Dover, and soon landing at Calais, we passed after two days, by wagon, to the strong towns of Gravelines and Duunkirk ; where I could not but find much horror in myself to pass under those dark and dreadful prisons, where so many brave Englishmen had breathed out their souls in a miserable captivity. From thence we passed to Brussels, where the ambassador was newly sat down before us. The noble gentleman in whose company I travelled, was welcomed with many kind visitations. Amongst the rest there came to him an English gentleman, who having been extravagant in the inns of court, had forsaken his religion, and was turned both bigot and physician, residing in Brussels. This man, after some few interchanges of compliment with sir Edmund Bacon, fell into a hyperbolical declaration of the wonderful miracles said to be lately done by our lady of Zichem or Sharpill—the credit whereof when that worthy knight questioned, he avowed a particular miracle of a cure wrought by her

upon himself! I coming into the room, in the midst of this discourse, not habited like a divine, but in such a colour and fashion as might best secure my travel, and hearing my countryman's confident relations, at last asked him this question: Sir, put the case, that this report of your's be granted for true, I beseech you teach what difference there is between the miracles which you say are wrought by this 'lady,' and those which were wrought by Vespasian, by some vestals, by charms and spells? I ask this the rather, for that I have noted in the late published report of these miracles, some patients were prescribed to come upon a Friday, and some to wash in such a well before their approach, and divers other such charm-like observances. The gentleman, not expecting such a question from me, answered; Sir, I do not profess this kind of scholarship, but we have many famous divines in this city, with whom if it would please you to confer, you might sooner receive satisfaction. I asked him whom he took for the most eminent divine in that place; he named to me father Costerus, undertaking that he would be very glad of a conference with me if I would come up to the Jesuits' college, to which I willingly yielded.

"In the afternoon this forward gentleman came before his time to attend me to the father, as he styled him, who, he said, was ready to see me. I went along with him, the porter shutting the door after me, welcomed me with a *Deo gratias*. (Praised be God.) I had not staid long in the Jesuits' hall before Costerus came in to me, who, after a friendly salutation, fell into a formal speech of the unity of that church out of which is no salvation. He had proceeded to lose his breath and his labor, had not I, as civilly as I might, interrupted him with this short answer:—'Sir, I beseech you, mistake me not; my nation tells you of what religion I am. I come not hither out of any doubt of my professed belief, or any purpose to change it, but

moving a question to this gentleman concerning the pretended miracles of the time, he pleased to refer me to you for my answer; which I was the more ready to accept, for the fame that I have heard of your learning and worth; and if you can give me satisfaction herein, I am ready to receive it.' Hereupon we settled in our places, at a table at the end of the hall, and buckled to a further discourse. He gave a poor and imperfect account of the difference of divine and diabolical miracles, which I modestly refuted. From thence he slid into a choleric invective against our church, which, as he said, could not yield one miracle. Many questions were traversed by us, wherein I found no satisfaction given me. The conference was long and vehement, in the heat whereof who should come in but father Baldwin, an English jesuit, known to me by his face after I came to Brussels, and much more by fame. He sat down upon a bench at the further end of the table, and heard no small part of our dissertation; seeming not well pleased that a gentleman of his nation, for still I was spoken to in that habit by that style, should depart from the Jesuits' college no better satisfied. On the next morning, therefore, he sent the same English physician to my lodging, with a courteous message, professing to take it unkindly that his countryman should make choice of any other than himself to confer with, who desired both my acquaintance and satisfaction. Sir Edmund Bacon, in whose hearing the message was delivered, gave me secret signs of his utter unwillingness to give way to any further conferences, the issue whereof might prove dangerous, since we were to pass further, and beyond the bounds of the protection of our ambassador. I returned a civil answer of thanks to father Baldwin, but said that any further conference was bootless; I could not hope to convert him, and was resolved he should not alter me, and therefore both of us should rest where we were."

In a letter to sir Thomas Challoner, called a report

of some observations in his travel, Mr. Hall thus speaks of the first part of this journey:—"Beyond my hopes, not my desires, I travelled of late; partly for knowledge, and partly for health.—"Lo, then, every thing taught me, every thing delighted me; so ready are we to be affected with those foreign pleasures, which at home we should overlook; I saw as much as one might in such a space of earth in so few months. The time favored me; for the key of peace had newly opened those parts which war before had closed; closed I say to all English, save either fugitives or captives. All civil occurrences, as what fair cities, what strange fashions, entertainment, dangers, delights, we found, are fit for other ears and winter evenings; what I noted as a divine, within the sphere of my profession, my paper shall not spare in some part to report; and that to yourself who have passed a longer way with more happy fruit of observation. Even little streams empty themselves into great rivers; and they again into the sea.

"Along our way how many churches we saw demolished! Nothing left but rude heaps to tell the passenger there had been both devotion and hostility. Oh, the miserable footsteps of war, besides bloodshed, ruin, and desolation! Fury there, hath done that, which covetousness would do with us; would do, but shall not—the truth within, shall save the walls without. And to speak truly, whatever the vulgar exclaim, idolatry pulled down those walls, not rage. If there had been no Hollander to raze them, they should have fallen alone, rather than have hidden so much impiety under their guilty roofs. These are spectacles, not so much of cruelty as justice; cruelty of man, justice of God.

"But, which I wondered at, churches fall and Jesuits' colleges rise every where—there is no city where those are not either rearing or already built. Whence cometh this? Is it because devotion is not so necessary as policy? Those men, as we say of the fox,

fare best when they are most cursed ; none so much spited of their own ; none so hated of all ; none so opposed by ours ; and yet these ill weeds grow. Whosoever lives long, shall see them feared of their own, who now hate them ; shall see these seven lean kine devour all the fat beasts that feed on the marshes of Tiber. I prophesy as Pharaoh dreamed ; the event shall justify my confidence.”—It is hardly necessary to observe, that this expectation of Mr. Hall’s was fulfilled—and do we not, at the present day, see the colleges of the Jesuits again rapidly increasing ?

We have seen that the dispute with the jesuit began respecting modern popish miracles. Mr. Hall made some remarks upon that subject, in a letter to sir D. Murray. “ The world abounds with miracles. These, while they fill the mouths of many, sway the faith of some, and make all men wonder. I had thought our age had too many grey hairs, and with time experience, and with experience craft, not to have descried a juggler ; but now I see by its simplicity, that it declines to its second childhood. I only wonder how Faux and Catesby, (the two active conspirators in the powder plot,) escaped the honor of saints, and the privileges of miracles.

“ I have noted four sorts of commonly named miracles. The first, merely reported, not seen to be done ; the next seeming to be done, but counterfeited ; the third truly done, but not true miracles ; the last truly miraculous, but by Satan. The first of these are bred of lies, and are nourished by credulity. For these, if I listed awhile to rake in the legends and book of Conformities\*, an ingenuous papist could not but blush, &c. The next are bred of fraud and cozenage, nourished of superstition. Who knows not how the famous Kentish idol (the rood of Boxley,) moved its eyes and hands by

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\* A blasphemous account of St. Francis, describing him as equal to our blessed Lord in many respects !



those secret gimmers which now every puppet play can imitate, &c. The third are true works of God under a false title. God gives them their being, men their name; unjust, because above their nature; wherein the philosopher and the superstitiously ignorant are contrarily extreme. While the one seeks out natural causes from God's immediate works, the other ascribes ordinary effects to supernatural causes. If the violence of a disease cease, after a vow made to our lady; if a soldier armed with his vow, escape gun-shot; a captive, prison, &c.; then the vulgar, and I would that they alone did so, cry out, "A miracle!" One loadstone hath more miracle in it than a thousand such events. Every thing draws a vulgar mind to admiration. Francesco del Campo, one of the archduke's equerries, told us, not without importunate devotion, that in the fatal field of Nieuport, his vow to their virgin helped him to swim over a large water, when the oars of his arms had never before tried any waves—a dog hath done more without acknowledgment of any saint—fear gives sudden instinct of skill, even without precept. Their own Costerus durst say that the cure of a disease is no miracle; because it may be done by the power of nature, although in longer time. Many of their recoveries, doubtless, have been wrought through the strength of nature in the patient; not of virtue in the saint."

It is unnecessary to follow our author through the whole of his reasonings on the fourth head. He says, "Miracles must be judged by the doctrine, not the doctrine by the miracles. The dreamer or prophet must be esteemed not by the event of his wonder, but by the substance and scope of his teaching. The Romanists argue preposterously, while they would prove the truth of their church by miracles; whereas they should prove their miracles by the truth. All shall be plain if the doctrine confirmed by their miracles be once discussed; for if that be divine truth, we do unjustly impugn these works as diabolical; if it be falsehood,

they do blasphemously proclaim them for divine. These works all tend chiefly to this double doctrine: 1. That the blessed virgin is to be invoked for her mediation. 2. That God and the saints are to be adored in and by images—positions whereof one is against scripture, the other beside it. It matters not what subtle distinctions their doctors make between mediation of redemption and intercession; *douleia* and *latreia*, the saint and the image. We know that the common people, whose devotion enriches those shrines, by confession of their own writers, climb the hill of Zichem with the conceit that Mary is their saviouress; that the stock is their goddess." He then speaks of the second commandment being purposely omitted by papists in the primers of their children, and says, "It cannot be denied that all the substance of prayer is in the heart; the vocal sound is but a compliment, and as an outward case wherein our thoughts are sheathed. That power cannot know the prayer which knows not the heart; either then the virgin is God, if she knows the heart; or, to know the heart is not peculiar to God; or to know the heart, and so to know our prayers, is falsely ascribed to the virgin; and therefore these wonders which teach men thus to honor her, are teachers of lies, and so not of God. To end, if prayers were only in words, and saints meddled with the particular actions of earthly things, yet blessed Mary should be a God, if she could at once attend all her suitors. One solicits her at Halle; another at Scherpenhewel; another at Lucca; another at our Walsingham; another in Asia, or perhaps another is one of her new clients in America—ten thousand devout suppliants are at once prostrate before her different shrines. If she cannot hear all, why pray they? If she can—what can God do more? Certainly, as the matter is used, there cannot be greater wrong offered to those heavenly spirits, than for them by our importunate superstitions to be thrust into God's throne; and to have forced upon them the



honors of their Maker—change but one idol for another, and what differ the wonders of Apollo's temples, from those of these chapels.—Cursed be all honor that is stolen from God.” This extract is long, but much has been said in our day of popish miracles, and it is important to see to what consequences they necessarily lead. To return to the narrative.

“ Departing from Brussels we went for Namur and Liege; in the way we found the good hand of God, in delivering us from the danger of freebooters, and of a nightly entrance amidst a suspicious convoy, into the bloody city. Thence we came to the waters of Spa, where I had good leisure to add a second century of meditations to those I had published before my journey. After we had spent a suitable time at those medicinal wells, we returned to Liege. In our passage up the river Meuse, I had a dangerous conflict with a Sorbonist, a prior of the Carmelites.—His vehement associates began to join with him in a downright railing upon our church and our religion. I told them they knew where they were; for myself, I had taken notice of their laws forbidding any argument to be held against their established religion, and therefore I only stood upon my defence, not casting any aspersion upon theirs, but ready to defend our own. Though I performed this in as fair terms as I could, yet the choler of those zealots was so moved, that the paleness of their changed countenances began to threaten some perilous issue, had not sir Edmund Bacon both by his eye and his tongue wisely taken me off. I withdrew speedily from their presence to avoid further provocation. The prior began to discover some suspicions of my borrowed habit, and told them that he himself once had a green satin suit prepared for his travels into England, so that I found it needful for me to lie close at Namur.

“ The next day I travelled towards Brussels in company with two Italian captains, who inquiring into our nation and religion, wondered to hear that we had any

baptism and churches in England. The congruity of my Latin, compared with their perfect barbarisms, drew me and the rest into their suspicion, so that I could overhear them muttering to each other, that we were not the men we appeared to be. One of them boldly expressed his conceit, and together with this charge began to inquire into our condition. I told him that the gentleman he saw before us, was the grandson of the renowned Bacon, the great chancellor of England, a man of great birth and quality, and that my other companion and myself travelled in his attendance to the Spa, from the train and under the privilege of our late ambassador, with which true answer I stopped their mouths.

“Returning through Brussels we came down to Antwerp, the paragon of cities, where my curiosity to see a solemn procession on St. John Baptist’s day might have drawn me into danger through my willing irreverence, had not the bulk of a tall Brabanter, behind whom I stood in the corner of the street, shadowed me from notice. Thence down the fair river of Scheld, we came to Flushing, where upon the resolution of our company to stay some hours, I hastened to Middleburgh to see an ancient college. That visit lost me my passage. Ere I could return, I saw our ship under sail for England; the master had with the wind altered his purpose, and called aboard with such eagerness, that my company must either away, or undergo the hazard of too much loss. I looked long after them in vain, and sadly returning to Middleburgh, waited long for an inconvenient and tempestuous passage.”

Some further particulars respecting the latter part of this journey may be added from the letter already quoted:—“At Ghent, a city that commands reverence for age, and wonder for the greatness, we fell upon a capuchin novice, who wept bitterly because he was not allowed to be miserable! Piety to his mother would not permit what he thought piety to God. He

was the only heir of his father, the only stay of his mother; the comfort of her widowhood depended on this her orphan, who now must enter into the world of the capuchins as he came first into this; naked, leaving his goods to the division of the fraternity, the least part whereof should be her's, whom he wished to have all. Hence those tears and that repulse; I pitied his ill-bestowed zeal, and rather wished than durst teach him more wisdom. These men for devotion, the jesuits for learning and business, have engrossed all opinion from other orders. Oh, hypocrisy! No capuchin may take or touch silver, for they are, as you know, the quintessence of Franciscans. This metal is a very anathema to them, as the wedge of gold to Achan; at the offer whereof he starts back, as Moses from the serpent; yet he has a boy with him that takes and carries it, and never complains of metal or measure! I saw and laughed at it; and by this open trick of hypocrisy suspected there was more kept close.

“After a delightful passage up the river Maes, we visited the populous and rich clergy of Liege. That great city might well be divided into two parts—cloisters and hospitals. If I might adventure, I could here play the critic. Oh, England, thought I, happy for justice, happy for security! Here you shall find in every corner a mawmet (an image); at every door a beggar; in every dish a priest.”

“From thence we passed to the Spa, a village famous for her medicinal and mineral waters, compounded of iron and copperas; the virtue whereof the simple inhabitant ascribes to their beneficial saint, whose heavy foot hath made an ill-shapen impression in a stone of the upper well; a water more wholesome than pleasant, and yet more famous than wholesome.”

“Let me tell you, ere I take off my pen, two wonders more, which I saw at Antwerp. One, a solemn mass in a shambles, and that on God's day; while the house was full of meat, of butchers, of buyers, some

kneeling, others bargaining; most talking, all busy. It was strange to see one house sacred to God and to the belly, and how these two services agreed. The priest did eat flesh,\* the butchers sold flesh, in one roof, at one instant. The butcher killed and sold it by pieces; the priest did sacrifice it, and orally devour it quite whole. Which was the most a butcher? The like we might have seen at Malines.

"The other wonder was an Englishman, (one Godwin, a Kentish man,) so madly devout, that he had wilfully mured up himself as an anchorite; the worst of all prisoners. There sat he pent up, for his furtherment; half hunger-starved, for the charity of the citizens. It was worth seeing how manly he could bite in his secret want; and dissemble his over-late repentance."

During this journey Mr. Hall composed the second century of his meditations and vows. Several of them appear to have been suggested by circumstances he met with. His writings show that he was much accustomed to improve passing events:—No. 13. "I will account no sin little; since the least works out the death of the soul. It is all one whether I be drowned in the ebber shore,† or in the midst of the deep sea." No. 33. "There are three things which, of all others, I will never strive for—the wall, the way, and the best seat. If I deserve well, a low place cannot disparage me so much as I shall grace it. If not, the height of my place shall add to my shame; while every man shall condemn me for pride matched with unworthiness." No. 56. "That which is the misery of travellers, to find many hosts and few friends, is the state of christians in their pilgrimage to a better life." Others might be added.

Mr. Hall's means at Halsted were very confined; but he says, If his then patron would have added but the value of ten pounds annually, which he consi-

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\* The consecrated wafer which the church of Rome considers to be the flesh, blood, and bones, as well as the soul of Christ!—See *Decrees of Council of Trent*.

† Near the shore.

dered was unjustly detained from the income of the incumbent, he would never have removed. The preachership of Bury was offered to him about eighteen months after his return from the continent, and he went to London to ascertain the mind of his patron, sir Robert Drury, upon the subject, who dissuaded him from accepting the offer, but gave him no hopes of an increased income.

The narrative proceeds, "With him I staid and preached on the Sunday following. That day sir Robert Drury meeting with the lord Denny, commended my sermon. That religious and noble lord had long harboured good thoughts concerning me, from reading those poor pamphlets which I had formerly published, and had long wished to know me. To please him in this desire, sir Robert willed me to go and tender my services to his lordship, which I modestly and seriously deprecated; yet, upon his earnest charge, I went to his lordship's gate, where I was not sorry to hear of his absence.

"Being now full of cold and distemper, I was found by a friend in whom I formerly had no great interest, one Mr. Gurrey, tutor to the earl of Essex. He told me how well my meditations were accepted at the prince's court, and earnestly advised me to step over to Richmond, and preach to his highness, prince Henry. I strongly pleaded my indisposition of body, and my unpreparedness for any such work, together with my fears and utter unfitness for such a presence. My averse-ness doubled his importunity; he left me not till he had my engagement to preach the Sunday following at Richmond; he made way for me to that awful pulpit, and encouraged me by the favor of the earl of Essex. I preached through the favor of my God. That sweet prince signified his desire to hear me again the Tuesday following, which done, that labor gave more contentment than the former, so that the prince both gave me his hand, and commanded me to his service.

"My patron, upon my return to London, seeing me

looked after by some great persons, began to wish me at home, and told me that some or other would be snatching me up. I answered, it was in his power to prevent that; would he be pleased to make my maintenance only so competent as in right it should be, I would never stir from him. Instead of condescending, it pleased him to expostulate of the rate of competencies, affirming the variableness thereof according to our own estimation, and our either raising or moderating our expenses. I showed him that I was forced to write books to buy books; shortly some harsh and unpleasing answer so disheartened me, that I resolved to embrace the first opportunity of remove."

"Now, while I was taken up with these anxious thoughts, a messenger came to me from the lord Denny, (afterwards earl of Norwich,) intreating me to speak with him. No sooner came I thither, than after a glad and noble welcome, I was entertained by the noble earnest offer of Waltham. The conditions were like the mover, free and bountiful; I received them as from the munificent hands of my God, and returned full of the cheerful acknowledgments of a gracious providence over me. Too late now did my former patron relent, and offer me those terms, which if he had offered me before, had fastened me for ever."

Among his epistles is one to sir Robert Drury and his lady concerning this removal from them. He says, "With how unwilling a heart I leave you, He knows that searches the heart; neither durst I go, but that I sensibly see his hand pulling me from you. Indeed, desire of competency betrayed me at first, and drew mine eyes to look aside; but when I bent them upon the place, (Waltham,) and saw the number and need of the people, together with their hunger and applause, meeting with the circumstances of God's strange conveyance of this offer to me; I saw that was but as the fowler's feather to make me stoop; and contemning that respect of myself, I sincerely acknowledged higher motives for yielding, and resolved that I might not resist.



“ You are dear to me as a charge to a pastor ; if any pains to you have not proved it, suspect me. Yet I leave you. God calls me to a greater work ; I must follow him. It were more easy to me to live secretly hidden in that quiet obscurity, as Saul amongst the stuff, than to be drawn out to the eye of the world, to act so high a part before a thousand witnesses. In this point, if I seem to neglect you, blame me not ; I must neglect and forget myself. I can but labour wherever I am. God knows how willingly I do that ; whether there or here. I shall dig, and delve, and plant, in what ground soever my Master sets me.”

Mr. Hall removed to Waltham in 1612, about which time he took his doctor's degree. Not long before this, sir Thomas Sutton, one of the wealthiest merchants of that day, planned the foundation of the Charter-house. One of the epistles written by Mr. Hall was addressed to this beneficent individual, and was intended, as the title sets forth, to “ excite him, and in him, all others, to early and cheerful beneficence ; and to show the necessity and benefit of good works.” Mr. Hall appears to have considered it his duty to exhort Mr. Sutton, though a stranger to him, to lose no time in making proper use of the talent committed to his charge. He says, “ You cannot but know that your full hand and worthy purposes, have possessed the world with much expectation. What speak I of the world ? yet its honest and reasonable claims cannot be contemned with honor, nor disappointed without dishonor. The God of heaven who hath lent you this abundance, and given you these gracious thoughts of charity, of piety, looks long for the issue of both ; and will complain either of too little, or too late.”

“ Herein, therefore, you owe more to God that he hath given you a heart to do good ; a will to be as rich in good works, as great in riches. To be a friend to this mammon, is to be an enemy to God—the

christian knows, that ‘Well done, faithful servant,’ is a thousand times more sweet a note than, ‘Soul, take thine ease;’ for that is the voice of the Master recompensing; this of the carnal heart presuming: and what follows to the one, but his Master’s joy? what to the other, but the loss of his soul? I neither distrust nor persuade you, whose resolutions are happily fixed on purposes of good. Only give me leave to hasten your pace a little; and to excite your christian forwardness, to begin speedily, what you have long and constantly vowed. Neither the times are in our disposing, nor ourselves. If God had set us a day, and made our wealth inseparable, there were no danger in delaying. Now our uncertainty either must quicken us, or may deceive us. How many have meant well, and done nothing; and lost their crown with lingering.” After further exhortations to do what he intended, himself, without leaving it to executors, the letter concludes, “Suffer yourself, therefore, good sir, for God’s sake, for the gospel’s sake, for the church’s sake, for your soul’s sake, to be stirred up by these poor lines to a resolute and speedy performing of your worthy intentions; and take this as a loving invitation sent from heaven by an unworthy messenger. You cannot deliberate long of fit objects for your beneficence, except it be more for multitude than want; the streets, yea the world, is full.”

This good advice of Mr. Hall’s seems not to have been lost; the letter was written about 1609. Mr. Sutton soon after abandoned his design of a small hospital in Essex, and endowed his noble foundation of the Charterhouse in 1611. He died in less than a year afterwards. It is related by Fuller, that Mr. Sutton used often to repair to a private garden where he was overheard to use this expression: “Lord, thou hast given me a large and liberal estate, give me also a heart to make use of it.”

The narrative proceeds:—“In the second year of my attendance on his highness, (prince Henry,) when



I came for my dismissal from that monthly service, it pleased the prince, by sir Thomas Challoner his governor, to command me a longer stay; and at last when allowed to depart, he tendered to me his desire to have me continually resident at the court as a constant attendant, for which purpose his highness would obtain for me such preferments as should yield me full content. I returned my humblest thanks, and stated my readiness to sacrifice myself to the service of so gracious a master; but being conscious to myself of my unanswerableness to such great expectation, and being loth to forsake so dear and noble a patron, who had placed much of his heart on me, I modestly put it off, and held close to my Waltham; where, in a constant course, I preached a long time thrice in a week, as I had done at Halsted before; yet never durst I climb into the pulpit to preach any sermon, whereof I had not before, in my poor and plain fashion, penned every word in the same order wherein I hoped to deliver it; although in the expression I listed not to be a slave to syllables."

Prince Henry did not live long after he thus signified his wishes to Mr. Hall. He died November 6, 1612, in his nineteenth year. He was a most amiable prince, and his death was deeply regretted as a national loss. He was pious and exemplary in his conduct, setting an example of sobriety, honor, and steadiness to the court. Among bishop Hall's letters is one to Mr. Newton, tutor to the prince, which earnestly exhorts him to a faithful discharge of the important duties of his office.

On new year's day 1613, Dr. Hall preached a farewell sermon to the family of the prince which was that day dissolved. He speaks in strong terms of the national loss. "A loss," says he, "that we had neither grace to fear, nor have capacity to conceive. Shall I praise him to you who are therefore now miserable, because you did know him so well? I forbear it, though to my pain. If I did not spare you, I

could not so swiftly pass over the name and virtues of that glorious saint, our dear master, or the aggravation of that loss whereof you are too sensible. Death, especially such a death, must have sorrow and tears. All nations, all succession of times, shall bear a part with us in this lamentation. And if we could but as heartily have prayed for him before, as we have heartily wept for him since, perhaps we had not had this cause of mourning." Referring to the word "pains" or labor in his text, (Rev. xxi. 3, 4,) he speaks of labour being the lot of all, and says, "Indeed God had in our creation allotted us labour without pain; but when once sin came into the soul, pain seized upon the bones, and the mind was possessed with a weariness and irksome lothing of what it must do; and ever since, sorrow and labour have been inseparable attendants upon the life of man, insomuch that God, when he would describe to us the happy state of the dead, does it in those terms: They shall rest from their labours." After describing in a graphic manner the labours of different stations in life, he proceeds—

"Who now can be in love with a life that hath nothing in it but crying and tears in the entrance; death in the conclusion; labour and pain in the continuance; and sorrow in all these? What galley-slave but we, would be in love with his chain; what prisoner would delight in his dungeon? How hath our infidelity besotted us, if we do not long after that happy state of our immortality, wherein all our tears shall be wiped away, and we at once be free from labour, sorrow, and death. Now, as it is vain to hope for this till then; so not to hope for it then is brutish. He that hath taxed us with these penances, hath undertaken to release us. God shall wipe away all tears." After enlarging upon this head, he exclaims, "Why do we not now say from the heart, I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Not barely to be dissolved; a malcontent may do so; but therefore to be dissolved, that we may be with Christ; possessed of

his everlasting glory, where not only we shall not weep, but rejoice and sing Hallelujahs for ever ; not only not die, but enjoy a blessed and heavenly life? Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly.”—His description of the glories of heaven is very striking, and the manner in which he urges the necessity of regeneration is very impressive.

In a sermon preached the following year at Paul’s Cross, Dr. Hall again adverted to the death of prince Henry. He said, “ What could have snatched from our head that sweet prince of fresh and bleeding memory, but our traitorous wickedness? His christian modesty, when he was upon his death-bed, charged it upon himself, saying, ‘ No, no ; I have sins enough of my own to do this.’ But this very accusation did clear him and burden us. Oh, glorious prince, they are our sins that are guilty of thy death and our loss. We have done wickedly, thou perishedst—a harsh word for thy glorified condition ; but such a perishing as is incident to the saints ; for there is a perishing from the earth, as well as a perishing from God. It was a joyful perishing to thee ; our sins have advantaged thy soul, which partly is therefore happy, because we were unworthy of thee.”

Soon after, Dr. Hall was presented to a prebend in the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, which was sufficiently endowed, but the revenues had been unlawfully appropriated by sir Walter Leveson, and the clergy left destitute. After a protracted law-suit, a better provision was obtained, when Dr. Hall showed his disinterestedness in a very pleasing manner. He says, “ The work having been once firmly settled, in just pity of the mean supply, if not the destitution of so many thousand souls, and a desire and care to have them provided for in future, I resigned the prebend to a worthy preacher, Mr. Lee, who should constantly reside there, and painfully instruct that numerous and long-neglected people, which he performed with much mutual contentment and happy success.”

Dr. Hall was about fifteen years at Waltham, during which time he was employed in various duties of a public nature. He was three times abroad, as he relates, "First, in attendance on the viscount Doncaster, who was sent on a noble embassy with a gallant retinue into France, whose entertainment there, the annals of that nation will tell to posterity. In the midst of that service I was surprised with a miserable distemper of body, not without threats of a dysentery; wherewith I was brought so low, that there seemed small hope of my recovery. As the time of the ambassador's departure approached, Dr. Moulin kindly offered to remove me to his own house; promising me all careful attendance. I thanked him; but resolved, if I could but creep homewards, to put myself on the journey. A litter was provided; but of so little ease, that Simeon's penitential lodging, or a malefactor's stocks had been less penal. I crawled down from my close chamber into that carriage, "in which you appeared to me to be carried as it were in a coffin," as Mr. Moulin wrote to me afterwards. I should have endured that misery in all the long passage from Paris to Dieppe, being left alone to the surly muleteers, had not the providence of my good God brought me to St. Germain's, upon the very minute of the setting out of the coaches of the ambassador. How glad was I to change my seat, and my company! In the way, beyond all expectation, I began to recover some strength. Whether the fresh air or the desires of my home revived me, so much and so sudden reparation ensued, as was sensible to myself, and seemed strange to others. Going on board at Dieppe, the sea used us hardly, and after a night and a great part of a day following, sent us back, well wind-beaten, to that bleak haven whence we set forth; forcing us to a more pleasing land-passage through the coasts of Normandy and Picardy; towards the end whereof my former complaint returned upon me, and landing with me, accompanied me home."

During his absence, king James I. appointed Dr. Hall to the deanery of Worcester. He says, "Before I could go down to take possession of that dignity, his majesty pleased to design me to attend him into Scotland, (in March, 1617,) where the great love and respect that I found, both from the ministers and the people, wrought me no small envy from some of our own. Upon a commonly received supposition, that his majesty would have no further use for his chaplains after his remove from Edinburgh, forasmuch as the divines of the country, whereof there is great store and worthy choice, were allotted to every station, I easily obtained permission to return homewards before my fellows. No sooner was I gone, than suggestions were made to his majesty of my over plausible demeanour and doctrine to that already prejudicate people, for which his majesty, after a gracious acknowledgment of my good service there done, called me upon his return to a favourable and mild account; not more freely professing what informations had been given against me, than his own full satisfaction with my sincere and just answer; as whose excellent wisdom well saw that such winning carriage of mine could be no hindrance to those his great designs."

Dr. Hall here alludes to the king's desire to effect a uniformity between the churches of England and Scotland, and to promote this, he corresponded with a reverend and learned divine of Edinburgh, named Struther. In reply to a letter from Mr. Struther he wrote at considerable length; and entered fully into the subjects under discussion, which referred to rites and ceremonies, with much affection, temper, and moderation. It is only necessary here to observe, that the king was unsuccessful in this attempt; it was pursued farther during his reign and that of his successor, but unhappily was urged by men of a very different spirit from that which influenced Dr. Hall:—the consequences to both kingdoms are well known.

After King James returned from this journey he

published the well known declaration called "The Book of Sports," to encourage public dancing, diversions, and games upon the Lord's day, after divine service ! Of this gross violation of God's law, which commands "to remember the sabbath day to keep it holy," it is hardly possible to speak in suitable terms. With singular inconsistency the proclamation declared that no papist or puritan should enjoy "the benefits" it was intended to confer !

This declaration was disapproved by all the clergy who were influenced by a due sense of religion. Archbishop Abbot being at Croydon on the day when "The Book of Sports" was to be publicly read, forbade that it should be read there. Others did the same, and Warner says, "Had the king persisted in his order that it should be so published, in all probability it would have produced much greater convulsions than it did in the following reign, about fifteen years afterwards," when Charles I. caused the book again to be published in a revised form. There can be no doubt but that Dr. Hall disapproved this breach of the divine law, as from many passages in his works it is evident that he "kept holy the sabbath day;" and when the second edition of "The Book of Sports" was set forth, he was bishop of Exeter, and we shall find that he, as well as several other bishops, refused to urge his clergy to read the proclamation.

In a sermon preached the following year, Dr. Hall thus speaks of the preachers in Scotland : "For the northern part of our land, beyond the Tweed, we saw not, we heard not of a congregation without a preaching minister, and though their maintenance generally hath been small, yet their pains have been great, and their success answerable ; as for the learning and sufficiency of those preachers, whether prelates or presbyters, our ears were for some of them sufficient witnesses ; and we are not worthy of our ears, if our tongues do not thankfully proclaim it to the world."

The preceding extract is taken from the hos-



pital sermon, “preached in the solemn assembly of the city,” on Easter Monday, 1618. Dr. Hall’s being selected for that duty, shows the high estimation in which he was held, and a more faithful sermon never was preached on a similar occasion. It is from 1 Tim. vi. 17—19, the subject is “The righteous mammon,” and the discourse will remind the reader, in many points, of Latimer’s searching sermons on covetousness. He goes at once into his subject, “It were lost labour for me to persuade you how good riches are; your pains and your cares are sufficient proofs of your estimation; and how deadly the abuse of them is, many a soul feels that cannot return to complain.” After explaining the nature of the charge, he says, “Who then is the rich? He is rich that hath enough, whether the world think so or not. Even Esau, though he were poor in grace, yet in estate he was rich:’ ‘I have enough, my brother.’ And he that said, ‘Soul, thou hast goods enough for many years,’ was almost so. His fault was not that he thought he had enough; but that he meant to lie down and wallow in it. A man’s wealth or poverty is mostly what is in himself. And though nature have professed to read unto heathen men this lesson of wise moderation, yet it hath been seldom seen that any thing but true piety hath taught them to take it out. Godliness is great gain with contentment.”

“Such a one is rich. Let him look how he became so. That God which can allow you to be rich, will not allow you all ways to your wealth. If ye have filled your bags with fraud, usury, extortion; this gain may be honey in your mouth, but it will be gravel in your throat, and poison in your soul.”

“Let me appeal to your bosoms, if these two, excess of price and deficiency of worth, have not been the most serviceable factors to bring in some of your wealth. And let me tell you if these be guilty of your gains, you may misname your trades “Mysteries;”



but sure these tricks are mysteries of iniquity. It were envious and infinite, to arraign the several sciences of their adulteration and fraud; let me rather shut them all up together in that fearful sentence of wise Solomon, ‘The gathering of treasure by a deceitful tongue, is a vanity tossed to and fro of them that seek death;’ and if you please, read on the next verse, ‘The robbery of the wicked shall destroy them,’ (Prov. xxi. 6, 7.) Search your chests, search your hearts, all ye that hear me this day; and if any of you find any of this adulterine gold among your heaps, away with it, away with it as ye love yourselves, away with it; else know, as Chrysostom says, ye have locked up a thief in your counting-house, who will carry away all; and if ye look not to it speedily, your souls with it.”

“Let them seek after earthly things who have not a right to heavenly; let them desire the present who believe not in the future; the christian’s wealth is his Saviour; and how can he complain of measure, that hath the Author of all? O that it could be our ambition to scorn the base and dirty god of this world, and to aspire unto the true riches, and when Satan shall offer to grease us in the fist, if we would but remit a little of the rigour of a good conscience, to cast it in his face, with St. Peter’s indignation, ‘Thy gold and thy silver perish with thee!’ Consider, I beseech you, that all our crowns, our sovereigns, and pieces and half pieces, and ducats and double ducats, are current but to the brim of the grave; there they cease, and we justly laugh at the folly of those heathens who put coin into the dead man’s hand for his provision in another world.”

He speaks strongly against pride, censuring both haughtiness of conduct and extravagance of fashionable attire. He then returns to misused riches, and addresses those who place their confidence therein, quoting many passages of scripture. “Go to them thou rich man. God is offended with thee; and means

to plague thee with disease and death. Now try what thy bags can do. Begin first with God, and see whether thou canst bribe him with thy gifts, and buy off his displeasure." "Wherewith shalt thou come before the Lord, and bow thyself before the high God? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousand rivers of oil? Micah vi. 6, 7. "The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts." Hag. ii. 8. If that speed not, go to the sergeant of God, Death; see if thou canst fee him not to arrest thee. He looks thee sternly in the face, and tells thee he has a message to thee from God, and bids thee "Set thine house in order, for thou *must* die." If he hear thee not, go to the under-bailiff of Death, Disease; see if he can be persuaded to forbear thee. He answers, "This is of the Lord; I cannot therefore say to thee evil or good." In sum, Disease will summon thee to Death; Death will arrest thee to the judgment-seat of God; God will pass his doom upon thee; and in all these, "Riches avail not in the day of wrath."

He notices the "uncertainty of riches." Our life flies hastily away; but many times our riches have longer wings, and out-fly it. It was well observed by Basil, that "wealth rolls along by a man, like as an eddy stream glides by the banks." Time will moulder away the bank, but the current stays not for that, it speeds forward from one elbow of earth to another: so doth our wealth; even while we stay, it is gone." "Look upon those heaps with careless eyes; as those things whose parting is certain, whose stay is uncertain;" and say, "By all my wealth, and glory, and greatness, this alone have I gained, that I had something to which I might prefer my Saviour." And know that as Abraham, while he was in his own country, never had God appearing to him, save only to bid him go forth; but afterwards, when he was gone, had frequent visions of his Maker; so while in our affections we remain here below in our coffers, we cannot have the comfortable assurances of the presence of God;

but if we can abandon the love and trust of these earthly things, in the conscience of our obedience, now God shall appear unto us and speak peace to our souls, and never shall we find cause to repent us of the change. He then shows the good of "trusting in the Lord, who gives us all things richly to enjoy."

These extracts will fully prove that Dr. Hall was a faithful preacher; that he did not utter smooth things and prophesy deceit; for to enlarge upon such a subject on such an occasion, required no ordinary courage or common powers. Other extracts from his works will show that he was not less forward to set forth all the fulness and freeness of the gospel.

Dr. Hall, then dean of Worcester, was one of the four English divines who were appointed to attend the synod of Dort, in the latter end of 1618. It is unnecessary here to enter into a particular account of that synod, which, as most of the readers of these pages are aware, was called with a view of settling the differences which then existed, and particularly in Holland, between those who were called the followers of Arminius and Calvin; or as they were then more frequently styled, the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants. Other foreign divines attended, but those from England were treated with especial attention.

Dr Hall did not remain long at Dort. He says, "By the time I had stayed two months there, the unquietness of the nights in those garrison towns, working upon the tender disposition of my body, brought me to such weakness through want of rest, that it began to disable me from attending the synod, which yet, as I might, I forced myself to, as wishing that my zeal could have discountenanced my infirmity. It is well worthy of my thankful remembrance, that being in an afflicted and languishing condition for a fortnight together, in that sleepless distemper, yet it pleased God, the very night before I was to preach the Latin sermon to the synod, to bestow on me such a comfortable refreshing of sufficient sleep, as thereby

my spirits were revived, and I was enabled with much vivacity to perform that service, which was no sooner done than my former complaint returned upon me, and prevailed against all the remedies that the counsel of physicians could advise me to."

Dr. Hall first retired to the Hague for a time, but his health not improving, he was compelled to return to England. The synod testified their respect to him, and presented him with a gold medal, struck to commemorate their assembly. The sermon above-mentioned was preached on November 29, 1618, from Eccles. vii. 16. "Be not righteous overmuch, neither make thyself overwise." He cautioned the auditory strongly against the over refinements so common in modern theology, and concluded with exhorting them earnestly to christian peace and unanimity. "What have we to do," said he, "with the disgraceful titles of Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, Calvinists and Arminians. We are christians, let us be like minded. We are *one* body, let us be of *one* mind. I beseech you, brethren, by the awful name of God, by the sacred and cherishing bosom of our common mother, (the church,) by your own souls, by the most holy mercies of our Saviour Jesus Christ, seek peace, brethren, and ensue it."

The synod continued for half a year longer, when the questions under consideration were decided against the Remonstrant divines, who were afterwards banished. The conductors of this assembly have been accused of partiality; the whole has been represented as a pre-concerted arrangement to condemn the followers of Arminius; and reports were afterwards circulated that an oath to vote down the Remonstrants had been taken previously to the commencement of the synod; to this erroneous assertion bishop Hall replied in a letter, which is printed in Fuller's Church History. Whatever opinion may be formed respecting the decisions of the synod, as to doctrine, the harsh

manner in which the Remonstrants, (the followers of Arminius) were treated, cannot be justified. Bishop Hall afterwards stated his sentiments upon the controverted points, by saying, "I will live and die in the suffrage of that synod of Dort; and I do confidently avow, that those opinions (of the Remonstrants or followers of Arminius,) cannot stand with the doctrine of the church of England." But he desired to promote peace, and would not go the lengths to which many proceeded, as appeared a few years afterwards, when these questions were discussed in England. He says, "Finding that mistaking was more guilty of this dissention than misbelieving, I employed my thoughts how so dangerous a quarrel might be happily composed, and wrote a little project of pacification." This was his treatise, entitled, "*Via Media*, the way of peace in the five busy articles commonly known by the name of Arminius, wherein is laid forth so fair an accommodation of the different opinions, as may content both parts, and procure happy accord." This work shows the christian spirit of bishop Hall; his hopes of an accommodation were, however, disappointed, and his efforts for peace, as is usually the case, were misunderstood and misrepresented. He says, "I was scorched a little with this flame, which I desired to quench, yet this could not stay my hand from thrusting itself into a hotter fire;" meaning his controversies with the church of Rome, in which he engaged with much activity; some of his writings against the errors of popery, rank among the ablest we possess.

We are now arrived at the period of Dr. Hall's life, when he was called to a more elevated and influential station; but before we enter upon the particulars, we may view him in his private life. In a letter written to lord Denny some years before, he gives "a particular account how our days are or should be spent, both common and holy." He says, he will describe the manner in which he wishes to spend his days; and

from many circumstances it is evident, that he delineated the manner in which he did spend them, so far as was in his power.

“ I desire to awake, not when I will, but when I must ; pleasure is not a fit rule for rest, but health. Now when sleep is rather driven away than leaves me, I would ever awake with God. My first thoughts are for Him, who hath made the night for rest, and the day for labor ; and as he gives, so he blesses both. If my heart be early seasoned with his presence, it will savor of him all the day after.

“ While my body is dressing, my mind addresses itself to her ensuing task ; bethinking what is to be done, and in what order ; and marshalling, as it may, my hours with my work. That done, I walk up to my masters and companions, my books ; and sitting down among them, I dare not reach forth my hand to any of them till I have first looked up to heaven, and craved favor of Him to whom all my studies are duly referred ; without whom, I can neither profit nor labor. After this, out of no over-great variety, I cull forth those which may best suit my occasions—always God’s book : that day is lost whereof some hours are not improved in those divine monuments. Ere I can have sat unto weariness, my family having now overcome all household distractions, invites me to our common devotions ; not without some short preparation. These heartily performed send me up with a more strong and cheerful appetite to my former work, which I find made easy to me by intermission and variety. Now I deceive the hours with change of pleasures, that is, of labours. One hour is spent in textual divinity ; another in controversy ; histories relieve them both. Now when the mind is weary of other labours, it begins to undertake her own ; sometimes it meditates and winds up for future use ; sometimes it lays forth unto present discourse ; sometimes for itself, oftener for others.

“ Thus could I, all day, as ringers use, make myself music with changes ; and complain oftener of the day



for shortness, than of the business for toil ; were it not that this faint monitor interrupts me still in the midst of my busy pleasures, and enforces me both to respite and repast. Company, discourse, recreations, are now seasonable and welcome. These prepare me for a diet, not gluttonous but medicinal. The palate may not be pleased, but the stomach, and that not for its own sake. Neither would I think any of these comforts worth respect in themselves ; but in their use, in their end, so far as they may enable me to better things. If I see any dish to tempt the palate, I fear a serpent in that apple, and would please myself in a wilful denial. I rise capable of more, not desirous ; not now immediately from my trencher to my book, but after some intermission. After my latter meal my thoughts are slight ; only my memory may be charged with her task of recalling what was committed to her custody in the day, and my heart is busy in examining all my senses of that day's behaviour.

“ And now the evening is come, no tradesman does more carefully take in his wares, clear his shopboard, and shut his windows, than I would shut up my thoughts and clear my mind. That student shall live miserably, who, like a camel, lies down under his burden. All this done, calling together my family, we end the day with God.” He then says, that his practice is not to be an example for all, the lives of different ranks and callings must be different, “ Yet all must conspire in honest labour. Sweat is the destiny of all trades ; whether of the body or of the mind. God never allowed any man to do nothing. How miserable is the condition of those men, who spend the time as if it were given to them and not lent ; as if hours were waste creatures, and such as should never be accounted for !” as if God would take this for a good bill of reckoning : “ Item, spent upon my pleasures, forty years !” These men shall find that no blood can privilege idleness, and that nothing is more precious to God, than that which they desire to cast away, TIME.



“ Such are my common days. But GOD’S DAY calls for other respect. The same sun arises on this day, and enlightens it ; yet because the Sun of righteousness arose upon it, and gave a new life unto the world in it, and drew the strength of God’s moral precept unto it, therefore justly do we sing with the psalmist, ‘ This is the day which the Lord hath made ! ’ Now I forget the world, and in a sort myself ; and deal with my wonted thoughts, as great men use, who at some times of their privacy forbid the access of all suitors. Prayer, meditation, reading, hearing, preaching, singing, good conference, are the businesses of this day, *which I dare not bestow on any work or pleasure, but heavenly.* I hate superstition on the one side, and looseness on the other : but I find it hard to offend in too much devotion ; easy, in profaneness. The whole week is sanctified by this day ; and according to my care of this is my blessing on the next.”

Such was the course of life which enabled bishop Hall to produce his numerous and valuable writings. He sought the divine blessing in all his works, and it was imparted unto him.

Two other writings of Dr. Hall’s, which have reference to his travels, may be briefly noticed in this place. The first, an epistle to the earl of Essex, containing advice for his conduct in foreign countries ; in which he especially urges him to be careful to lose nothing of the truth, remembering that “ religion is the greatest care,” and tells him “ to look upon all things, not with the eyes of a stranger only, but of a philosopher, of a christian, who accounts all lost that is not reduced to practice.”

The second is a treatise, entitled, “ Quo vadis ? ” a just censure of travel as it is commonly undertaken by the gentlemen of our nation. Speaking of traffic as an occasion for travel, he observes, “ Solomon would never have sent his navy for apes and peacocks ; but yet held gold and timber, for the building of God’s house and his own, worthy of a whole three years’

voyage. Let our merchants take heed, lest they go so far that they leave God behind them; and while they buy all other things good-cheap, they make not an ill match for their souls; lest they end their prosperous adventures in the shipwreck of a good conscience." He censures in strong terms the conduct of parents who send their children to be educated in foreign countries, and also objects to travelling at an early age, before the judgment is formed.

His observations are for the most part applicable to the present day. Noticing those who visit foreign countries, and seek after remarkable objects, merely from curiosity, he asks, "What peace hath his heart above those who sit at home, and condemn these toys?" and adds, "Now let us sit down and see what we paid for this stock, and count our winnings. What must our complete traveller stake down? If not loss, danger—a double danger, of corruption of religion, and depravation of manners, both capital."

He gives some curious details respecting the industry with which the jesuits, and other Romanists, then watched and beset every English traveller, of note for his rank or abilities. His object was to check that vain restlessness which in those times, as well as in later days, has led so many of his countrymen into vanities that have injured both their bodies and their souls; also to point out to those who had occasion to travel, the dangers which beset them, and to show them how they might best be avoided. Although intercourse with foreign countries may now be more necessary than it was in those days, and circumstances may have changed in many respects, yet much useful instruction may be derived from this work.

Some of bishop Hall's sermons at this period of his life may be briefly noticed, as fully displaying his zeal and faithfulness. One, On the deceit of appearances, from John vii. 24, preached before the court in 1622, is a faithful discourse, strongly characteristic of the preacher, and widely differing from those which usu-

ally, at that time, were preached to a royal auditory. In the sermons of courtly divines, the most fulsome panegyrics upon James I. are often to be found; indeed, Dr. Hall, in one instance, in his sermon on the anniversary of king James's inauguration, has used expressions which appear to be proceeding too far; but this was in 1613, the early part of king James's reign; and a reference to the discourses of his contemporaries, shows that he was actuated by a different spirit from their's. The sermon now referred to, as well as others preached before the court, are not liable to any such censure, he reproves the profane vanity of the courtiers as faithfully as we have seen that he testified against the conduct of avaricious citizens. He also boldly set forth Christ crucified. "If we should judge according to appearance," says he, "we should think basely of the Saviour of the world," and he then delineates in most impressive language the life and sufferings of Christ, which induce the world to say, "He hath no form nor beauty; when we shall see him, there is nothing that we should desire him."

In the following year, Dr. Hall preached a sermon before the society of Gray's Inn, entitled, "The great impostor," from Jeremiah xvii. 9. As addressing one of the most famous establishments for law and justice, he arraigns before them, "the greatest cheat, and malefactor in the world—our own heart." An extract may be given, though it cannot convey a just idea of the great ability with which the preacher addresses himself to his learned auditory, tracing the deceitfulness of the heart through all its mazes.

"What should I speak of the most common, and yet most dangerous guest that lodges in this inn of the heart—infidelity. Call at the door, and ask if such an one lodges not there? they within make strange of it, deny it, forswear it. Call the officers, make search, you shall hardly find him. Like some jesuit in a popish dame's chamber, he is so closely concealed in false doors and double walls, that his presence is not

more easily known, than hardly convinced or confessed. If infidelity did not lurk in the hearts of men, they durst not do as they do; they could not but do what they do not! Durst they sin if they were persuaded of a hell? Durst they buy a minute of pleasure with everlasting torments? Could they so slight heaven if they believed it? Could they be so loth to possess it? Could they think much of a little painful goodness, to purchase an eternity of happiness? No, no; men, fathers, and brethren, if the heart were not infidel, while the face is christian, this could not be."

In the same year he preached before the convocation of the clergy. Here he exhorts his brethren to faithfulness in their ministrations. "The awful Judge of heaven and earth will be sure, upon his return, to call us to an account. O then, let me entreat you, let me adjure you, brethren, by the dear respect to your own souls, by the mercies, yea by the wounds and precious blood of Jesus Christ, by that dreadful tribunal before which we must all one day stand, that you carefully endeavour to set forth and accomplish your ministries with all holy operations. Preach the word; be instant in season and out of season; reprove, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." "Let each of us study to approve himself unto God a labourer that shall not be ashamed, and a right divider of the word of truth. Oh, sweet word! and such as in comparison whereof, the very harmony of heaven sounds harshly. O let it be our only ambition, dear brethren, that we may once hear the words, "Well done, good servant; thou hast been faithful in a little, enter into thy Master's joy."

Noticing "the audacious will-worship" or self-righteousness advocated by the church of Rome, he enters largely into the unwarrantable assumptions of that church, and referring to the English church being by God's grace reformed, exhorts them to take heed "lest it be deformed" again. "Let us devote for ever," says he, "with one heart, all our operations, minis-

tries, gifts, to one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; to one Head, Christ; one body, the church; that being washed with one baptism, ransomed with one price, professing one faith, and holding the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, we may at last, happily enjoy one and the same heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

In a sermon from Haggai ii. 9, on the rebuilding of a chapel in the house of the earl of Exeter, he speaks of the peace of God in Christ Jesus. "In this place will I give peace. In vain shall ye seek for this, dear christians, in a licentious tavern, in a rich counting-house, in chambers of dalliance, in full tables, in pompous courts; no, not in thrones of earthly majesty. Alas, many of these are the make-bates between Heaven and us. Most of them can mar, none of them can make our peace. It is only the despised ministry of the gospel; the word of reconciliation, as it is called, 2 Cor. v. 19, which sounds in God's house, that can do it. As ye love your souls therefore, as you would find peace at the last, and would look with a comfortable assurance in the face of death and judgment; as ye would see a gracious mercy-seat in the dreadful tribunal of God, at the day of our last appearance; frequent the house of God; attend reverently upon the sacred institutions of God; yield yourselves over to be wrought upon by the powerful gospel of Jesus Christ!

Dr. Hall's history at this period may be further illustrated by some references to his sermons. In September, 1624, he preached before the king on Phil. iii. 18, 19. "The enemies of the cross of Christ." Speaking of the desire of novelty, which had caused the introduction of new doctrines and a new manner of preaching into the pulpits, he says, "For us; away with this vain affectation in the matters of God. Surely, if ought under heaven go down better with us than the savory viands of Christ and him crucified, of faith and repentance; and those plainly dressed, without all the

lards and sauces of human devices ; to say no worse, our souls are sick and we feel it not." It is a most faithful and searching sermon.

The following extract is from a sermon preached in 1626, on the mitigation of the plague which had prevailed the preceding year. "There is none of us but is naturally walking down to the chambers of death ; every sin is a pace thitherwards ; only the gracious hand of our God stays us. In ourselves, in our sins, we are already no better than brands of that hell. Blessed be the God of our salvation who hath found happy issues from that death—even those that were made in the hands, feet, and side of our blessed Saviour. That invaluable precious blood of the Son of God, is that whereby we are redeemed, whereby we are justified, whereby we are saved."

In a sermon preached at Gray's Inn, on Rom. xii. 2, he describes the renewed state of a christian. "But how is this renewing wrought, and wherein does it consist ? It is by creation, 'Whosoever is in Christ is a new creature.' It is by regeneration, 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' It is by resuscitation, 'Even when we were dead in sins, hath he quickened us together with Christ.' From whence arises—that we can give of ourselves no active power to the first act of our conversion ; no more than Adam did to his first creation ; no more than the dead man to his rising from the grave. That there must be a reducing us, from our nothing, or worse, to an estate of holiness and new obedience. If we be the sons of God, we are renewed, and how shall that appear ? Whosoever are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. There is a death of this body of sin. Those that are Christ's, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts."

We now return to the narrative. Speaking of the controversies in which he was engaged, he says, "Immediately before the publishing of this tractate (his *Via Media*) I was by his majesty raised to the bishopric



of Exeter, (in 1627,) having formerly with much humble deprecation, refused the see of Gloucester, earnestly proffered unto me (in 1624). How, beyond all expectation, it pleased God to place me in that western charge, which, if the duke of Buckingham's letters, he being then in France, had arrived some hours sooner, I had been defeated of; and by what means it pleased God to make up the competency of that provision, by the unthought of addition of the rectory of St. Breok, within that diocese; if I should fully relate the circumstances, they would force the confession of an extraordinary hand of God, in disposing those events."

The good bishop soon found that a more elevated station generally brings increase of trouble to those who are resolved to act according to the word of God. He says, "I entered upon that place, not without much prejudice and suspicion; for some that sat at the stern of the church had me in great jealousy for too much favor of puritanism. I soon had intelligence who were set over me for spies; my ways were curiously observed and scanned. However, I took the resolution to follow those courses which might most conduce to the peace and happiness of my new and weighty charge. Finding, therefore, some factious spirits very busy in that diocese, I used all fair and gentle means to bring them to good order, and therein so happily prevailed, that saving one or two of that numerous clergy, who, continuing in their refractoriness, fled away from censure, they were all perfectly reclaimed. So that I had not one minister professedly opposite to the anciently received orders, for I never was guilty of urging any new impositions of the church in that large diocese. Thus we went on comfortably together, till some persons of note in the clergy, being guilty of negligence and disorderly courses, began to envy our success; and finding me ever ready to encourage those whom I found conscientiously forward and painful in their places, and that I willingly gave way to orthodox and peaceable lectures



in several parts of my diocese, opened their mouths against me, both obliquely in the pulpits, and directly at the court, complaining of my too great indulgence to disaffected persons, and my too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge.

“ The billows went so high, that I was three several times upon my knees to his majesty, to answer these great criminations, and what contest I had with some great lords concerning these particulars, it would be too long to report. But I was so sensible under how dark a cloud I was hereupon, that I plainly told the archbishop of Canterbury,\* that rather than I would be obnoxious to the slanderous tongues of his misinformers, I would cast up my rochet, (the episcopal garment,) I knew that I went right ways, and would not endure to live under undeserved suspicions.

“ What messages of caution I had from some of my wary brethren, and what expostulatory letters I had from above, I need not relate. Sure I am I had peace and comfort at home, in that happy sense of general unanimity, and loving correspondence of my clergy, till in the last year of my presiding there, after the synodical oath was set on foot, (which yet I never tendered to any one minister within my diocese,) by the incitement of some busy interlopers of the neighbouring county, some of them began to enter into an unkind contest with me about the election of clerks for the convocation. The parliament begun; after some hard tugging there, when returning home upon a recess, I was met by the way, and cheerfully welcomed by some hundreds.

“ In no worse terms I left that, my once dear dio-

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\* Laud, who violently persecuted the puritans, and all whom he considered to be well disposed towards them. Some persons of respectability had formed a society to endow lectureships and purchase impropriations, that destitute parishes might be provided with able and pious preachers; but by the interference of Laud they were called into the star-chamber, and compelled to relinquish their plan with considerable loss.

cese, when returning to Westminster, I was soon called by his majesty, who was then in the north, to remove to Norwich. But how I took the Tower in my way, and how I have been used since my repair hither, I could be lavish in the sad report, ever desiring my good God to enlarge my heart in thankfulness to him, for the sensible experience I have had of his fatherly hand over me in the deepest of all my afflictions, and to strengthen me for whatsoever other trials he shall be pleased to call me to, that being found faithful unto death, I may obtain the crown of life which he hath ordained for all those that overcome."

Bishop Hall here closes the account "of some specialities in his own life." While he was bishop of Exeter he was much engaged in controversy both with Romanists and others, and wrote several able publications upon various subjects in dispute. Into the particulars of these it is unnecessary to enter in these pages. Indeed it is evident, from his own writings, that he was not by choice a controversialist. In his work, called "The Reconciler," written at this time, he says, "For me, I need not appeal to Heaven; eyes enough can witness how few free hours I have enjoyed, since I put on these robes of sacred honour. Insomuch as I could find in my heart, with holy Gregory, to complain of my change; were it not that I see these public troubles are so many acceptable services to my God, whose glory is the end of my being. Certainly, if none but earthly respects should sway me, I should heartily wish to change this palace, which the Providence of God and the bounty of my gracious sovereign hath put me into, for my quiet cell at Waltham. But I have followed the calling of my God, to whose service I am willingly sacrificed."

Several of bishop Hall's devotional works were written by him while at Exeter. Among these, was his "Henochismus; or, a Treatise on the manner of walking with God," addressed to the clergy of his

diocese. In the prefatory address, he says, "I am utterly weary of, and sorry for, those wranglings by which the christian world is miserably agitated; and I wish it could be possible to appease them by any means in my power. I say not by my prayers, sighs, or tears only, but by any labour or fatigue of mine, or even at last by my blood. Let us, brethren, in the mean time, use our utmost diligence to draw off the minds of men from these vain wranglings and disputes, to the deep study of practical piety. This you see me labouring to accomplish; and I do solemnly promise that I will never cease to direct my labours to this end, so long as it shall please God to continue me in this diocese. It is heaven that we seek, *but heaven will never be attained by contests and disputes*, but by faith, and a godly life. The articles of faith which are necessary to be believed by every christian, in order to his salvation, are but few; nor are they difficult to be understood."

The manner in which he adverts to the inestimable advantages of walking with God, is beautiful and impressive; he powerfully dwells upon the advantages resulting from "the most undoubted liberty both of consulting God in difficulties, and of petitioning him in necessities, which is a sure attendant on this grace of a familiar intercourse with him. Also from "the exercise of our confidence, by which, without any anxiety, we repose on the providence of God for the management of ourselves and all our affairs," and that when we have gratefully acknowledged the benefits we have received, then, "to enjoy all good things in God and God in them; but not to enjoy them as good in themselves; for so long as the mind acquiesces exclusively in them, they immediately change their nature, and entirely lose their former goodness."

The conduct to be pursued by the believer is thus summed up, "In the first place sincerely to refer ourselves and all our actions to God; always aiming with a single eye, at his glory only; and if either our

honor, advantage, or pleasure, should at any time interpose and demand our attention, EVEN in all these circumstances to keep only that supreme end in view, to which they ought to be entirely subordinate. Secondly, to surrender up ourselves and all that we have sincerely to God; ever willing either to stand or fall, according to his good pleasure alone; not at all regarding man's judgment or opinion concerning us—nor what shall happen to us during the term of our short pilgrimage here; but waiting with faith and patience till the appointed time of our change shall come. Thirdly, always vehemently to thirst after a more full fruition of God, and a more perfect and complete conjunction with him: for it is impossible that any one who has once tasted how sweet the Lord is, should not be inflamed with the most earnest desire of a nearer union with him.”—The observations on the inward contest between the flesh and the spirit, and the motives to stir us up to walking with God are important.

His “Occasional Meditations” were at this time edited by his son, who mentions that his father had thrown them aside in consequence of the pressure of his employments. Among bishop Hall's sermons, preached during this period, is one on the consecration of a new burial-ground at Exeter, well deserving of perusal; he strongly objects to the common practice of burying within the walls of places of worship.

It is unnecessary here to enter into the general history of the period at which we have now arrived. The times were indeed full of difficulties for such a character. Laud and his associates proceeded with most unjustifiable severity against all who differed from their views, either in ecclesiastical or civil affairs; and when goaded by sufferings, it is not often that men can stop precisely at the proper point. We shall pass by the particulars of the contests between the king and the parliament, and the conflicts between different parties in church and state. The reader will find them fully

related in the histories of that period, and will see cause for regret in the proceedings of all parties.\*

One of the painful events which occurred while bishop Hall was at Exeter, was the revival of the "Book of Sports," with additions; and severe penalties were denounced against all the clergy who refused to publish this daring attack upon the divine commands. Fuller says, "Many moderate men are of opinion that this abuse of the Lord's day was a powerful procurement of God's anger, since poured out on this land in a long and bloody civil war." The chief justice Popham having enforced the due observance of the sabbath while on the western circuit, was called before the king, and severely rebuked by archbishop Laud, who promoted the enforcing of the "Book of Sports." From Laud's enmity to those who were designated as puritans, a great number of the clergy were silenced, or deprived of their livings, or suffered in other ways in consequence. But no one was troubled in bishop Hall's diocese; from whence it would appear that he opposed the enforcing of such iniquitous measures. Fuller probably refers to him, when he mentions a bishop in the west, who on this occasion had said, "I never will turn an accuser of my brethren." We have seen from his own narrative, that he refused to compel his clergy to take the oath imposed by the canons of 1640. He evidently was one of the bishops described by lord Falkland, in a speech, wherein that nobleman censured several of their order, but said, there were some who were "neither proud nor ambitious, yet learned opposers of popery, and zealous suppressors of Arminianism; between whom and their inferior clergy there has been no distinction in frequent preaching; whose lives are untouched, not only by guilt but by malice."

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\* See the Rev. John Jones's history of the life and times of bishop Hall, and Neal's history of the Puritans. Warner and Fuller's ecclesiastical histories may also be referred to, and Brook's Lives of the Puritans.

In November, 1641, bishop Hall was translated to the see of Norwich, and attended the sitting of parliament. The popular feeling against the episcopal order at that time was very strong, and the bishops were threatened with personal violence from crowds which beset the house of lords. Under these circumstances, the archbishop of York sent for his brethren, and advised them to absent themselves from attending in parliament ; and also to present a petition that they might be duly protected, with a protest against the validity of all acts passed during their forced absence. This ill judged petition and protest was laid before the parliament with a precipitation unexpected by the greater part of those who had been induced to sign it ; which gave much advantage to their enemies, some of whom in the house of commons represented it to be treasonable, and more dangerous than the powder-plot ! The twelve bishops whose names appeared to the protestation, all who had been able to attend, were accordingly impeached ; and bishop Hall, in his " Hard Measure," says, " We who little thought we had done any thing to deserve a chiding, were called to our knees at the bar, and charged severally with high treason ; being not a little astonished at the suddenness of this crimination, compared with the innocence of our own intentions." They were voted to the Tower at eight o'clock in the evening of December 30, and carried there in all the extremity of frost, with the exception of two, who, on account of age and infirmities, were committed to the custody of the black rod. While they were in the Tower the privilege of sitting in parliament was taken away from the episcopal order ; and the principal object of their adversaries being thus attained, after a series of vexatious and harassing proceedings they were deprived of the greater part of their revenues, and at length were liberated upon giving a bond to attend when called upon. " Thus," says bishop Hall, " after having spent the time between new year's even and Whitsuntide in those safe



walls, where we by turns preached every Lord's day to a large auditory of citizens, we disposed ourselves to the places of our several abodes." One of his sermons preached in the Tower, March 20, 1642, on the duty and encouragement of drawing nigh to God, is printed in his works. It is an excellent practical discourse from James iv. 8, without any reference to the political proceedings of the times.

He also wrote a small treatise, entitled, "The Free Prisoner; or the Comfort of Restraint;" which gives a very pleasing delineation of the peaceful state of his mind, while under these sufferings so little deserved by him. He shows that his soul is a closer prisoner to his body—under severer confinement than he experienced as a prisoner in the Tower, and he adverts to the unhappy case of those who are fettered by their lusts and sinful desires.

But a still more interesting production of his pen, is, "A letter sent from the Tower to a private friend, and by him thought fit to be published." He says, "My intentions, and this place are such strangers, that I cannot enough marvel how they met. But, howsoever, I do in all humility kiss the rod wherewith I smart; as well knowing whose hand it is that wields it. To that infinite justice, who can be innocent? but to my king and country never heart was, or can be, more clear; and I shall beshrew my hand if it shall have, against my thoughts, justly offended either; and if either say so, I reply not, having learned not to contest with those that can command legions." After acknowledging himself in strong terms a guilty sinner in the sight of God, he asks, "Can my enemies say that I bore the reins of government too hard; and exercised my jurisdiction in a rigorous and tyrannical way, insolently lording it over my charge? Malice itself perhaps would, but dare not, speak it; or if it should, the attestation of so grave and numerous a clergy would choke such impudence. Let them witness whether they were not still entertained by me with an

equal return of reverence, as if they had been all bishops with me, or I only a presbyter with them; according to the old rule of Egbert, archbishop of York, "In the house, the bishop acknowledges himself to be the colleague of the presbyters." Let them say whether aught here looked despotical, or sounded rather of imperious commands than of brotherly complying; whether I have not rather from some beholders undergone the censure of a too humble remissness, as perhaps stooping too low beneath the eminence of episcopal dignity; whether I have not suffered as much in some opinions for the winning mildness of my administrations, as in some others for rough severity.

"Can they say that I barred the free course of religious exercises, by the suppression of painful and peaceable preachers? If shame will suffer any man to assert this, let me challenge him to instance but one name. Nay, the contrary is so famously known in the western parts, that every mouth will herein justify me. What free admission and encouragement have I always given to all the sons of peace, that came with God's message in their mouths! What mis-suggestions have I waved! What blows have I borne off in the behalf of some of them, from some gainsayers! How have I often and publicly professed, that, as well might we complain of too many stars in the sky, as of too many orthodox preachers in the church."

He then calls upon them to say whether he had "fretted the necks of his clergy with the uneasy yoke of new and illegal impositions." "Can they check me with a lazy silence in my place? with infrequency of preaching? Let the populous auditories where I have lived, witness, whether, having furnished all the churches near me with able preachers, I took not all opportunities of supplying such courses as I could get in my cathedral; and when my tongue was silent let the world say whether my hand were idle." He then disclaims all regard for worldly pomp, adding, "No, no; I know the world too well to dote upon it. While

I am in it, how can I but use it? but I never care, never yield to enjoy it. It were too great a shame for a philosopher, a christian, a divine, a bishop, to have his thoughts grovelling here upon earth; for mine, they scorn the employment, and look upon all these sublunary distractions with no other eyes but contempt." He then meets other imputations, and appeals to Him "who shall one day cause mine innocence to break forth as the morning light, and shall give me beauty for bonds; and, for a light and momentary affliction, an eternal weight of glory." Bishop Hall evidently was under the like pressure of spirit with the apostle, who, when writing to the Corinthians, felt himself compelled to become as "a fool in glorying."

When finally released from the Tower, bishop Hall withdrew to Norwich, where he was received with more respect than could have been looked for in those times. He continued to preach frequently to numerous audiences, and enjoyed some degree of peace till the beginning of April, 1643. He then fell under the lash of the ruling party; his property was confiscated; his household goods were seized and offered for sale, including his books, and even the pictures of his children; his wearing apparel hardly escaped. His goods would have been dispersed to the highest bidders, had not a Mrs. Goodwin, a pious and respectable female, whom he had never known or seen, laid down the sum at which they were valued, and allowed them to remain in his possession until he should be able to repurchase them; and a clergyman named Cooke gave a bond for the value of his books. Thus stripped of his property, even of the arrears due to him from his tenants, he applied to the committee of sequestrators at Norwich, and £400. per annum was settled as a fit allowance for him; but before the first payment was made, an order came from London to forbid any such sum being paid, and his wife was recommended to apply for a smaller amount, which was not obtained without many difficulties, and with some deductions. Notwithstanding

ing his being reduced to these difficulties, he was required to pay the monthly assessments for the estates they withheld from him, and some of his goods were sold to defray these taxations! Nor did his character for peace protect him from repeated insults. One morning early his house was searched by the military, under the pretence of seeking for arms and ammunition; and one of his two horses was taken away, although his age and infirmities made him unable to walk, and unfit to travel alone. It is unnecessary here to recapitulate the various insults offered to this excellent divine, or the disorderly and brutal conduct of the military and rabble, which must be regretted even by those who differ in opinions upon many points from bishop Hall. At length he was ordered to quit his house, although his wife offered to pay rent for it out of her scanty allowance. Only a very short warning was given, and his enemies would have turned him into the street, had not a neighbour quitted his own dwelling to give it up to the bishop's family. The particulars of these proceedings are related in his "Hard Measure," in the language of a patient sufferer, and without bitterness or exaggeration.

Soon afterwards bishop Hall retired with his family to a small estate which he rented at Heigham, a hamlet on the western side of Norwich. The house he inhabited was lately a public-house, known by the sign of the Dolphin. During his abode there, he exerted himself to do all the good in his power. The Rev J. Whitefoot, in his funeral sermon for bishop Hall, says, "He preached in the churches of Norwich, till he was first forbidden of men, and then disabled by God. And when he could not preach himself; as oft and as long as he was able, this learned Gamaliel was not only content, but very diligent to sit at the feet of the youngest of his disciples; as diligent a hearer as he had been a preacher. How oft have we seen him walking alone, like old Jacob, with his staff, to Bethel,

the house of God." Several of the sermons preached at Norwich and Heigham, were printed in the volume of his works published after his death, and entitled, "The shaking of the olive tree." Amongst them is that most excellent and well-known discourse, "Christ our passover."

He lived down much ill will ; " he met with an embracement from many of them that had been his adversaries : " the preacher adds, " He was indeed a rare mirror of patience under all his crosses, which towards his latter end were multiplied upon him. The loss of his estate he seemed insensible of. I have heard him often bewail the spoils of the church, but very rarely did he so much as mention his own losses, but took joyfully the spoiling of his goods. Of late years, but especially the last, he was sorely afflicted with bodily diseases, and bore them all with as much patience as hath been seen in any flesh, except that of our Saviour. We have heard of the patience of Job, but never saw a fairer copy of it than in this man. Methinks I see him yet, as he was upon his bed, how he strengthened himself to confirm others that sought it, with his fatherly blessing, as Israel did the sons of Joseph."

Previously, however, to his being reduced to this state, he suffered a severe shock in the death of his wife, with whom he had lived happily forty-nine years. She died in 1652. On this occasion he wrote a tract, called, "Songs in the night; or, cheerfulness under affliction." In the preface, he says, "Indeed it pleased my God lately, as you well know, to exercise me with a double affliction, at once pain of body and grief of mind for the sickness and death of my dear consort. I struggled with them both as I might; and by God's mercy attained to a meek and humble submission to that just and gracious hand, and a quiet composedness of thoughts. But yet methought I found myself wanting in that comfortable disposition of heart and lively elevation of spirit, which some holy souls have professed to feel in their lowest depression,

fetching that inward consolation from Heaven which can more than counterpoise their heaviest crosses." He then states that this little work would show how he had endeavoured to busy his thoughts.

After referring to several instances recorded in scripture of those who were enabled to rejoice under affliction, he says, "The Holy Spirit, as being a most free agent, is sometimes pleased immediately to cast into the soul the comfortable gleams of heavenly consolations; but ordinarily, he causes this gracious cheerfulness in the heart of believers, by working them to strong resolutions, grounded upon irrefragable motives, such as are fetched from the Author, the intention, the nature, the issue, of our affliction. These he considers in order, showing that to all who love God, afflictions are derived from Heaven, and will end in joy." He concludes thus:—"Come then, all ye earthly crosses; and muster up all your forces against me. Here is that which is able to make me more than a conqueror over all.

"Have I lost my goods and foregone a fair estate? Had all the earth been mine, what is it to heaven? Had I been the lord of all the world, what were this to a kingdom of glory?

"Have I parted with a dear consort; the sweet companion of my youth; the tender nurse of my age; the partner of my sorrows for these forty-eight years? She is but stept a little before me to that happy rest, which I am panting towards; and wherein I shall speedily overtake her. In the mean time, and ever, my soul is espoused to that glorious and immortal Husband from whom it shall never be parted.

"Am I bereaved of some of my dear children, the sweet pledges of our matrimonial love; whose parts and hopes promised me comfort in my declined age? Why am I not rather thankful it hath pleased my God, out of my loins to furnish heaven with some happy guests? Why do I not, instead of mourning for their loss, sing praises to God for preferring them to that eternal blessedness?



“ Am I afflicted with bodily pain and sickness, which banishes all sleep from my eyes, and exercises me with a lingering torture? Ere long this momentary distemper shall end in an everlasting rest.

“ Am I threatened by the sword of an enemy? Suppose that man to be one of the guardians of paradise, and that sword as flaming as it is sharp, one stroke shall let me into the place of unconceivable pleasure, and admit me to feed on the tree of life for ever.

“ Cheer up, then, my soul ; and upon the fixed apprehension of the glory to be revealed, while thy weak partner, my body, droops and languishes under the sad load of years and infirmities, sing thou to thy God, even in the midnight of thy sorrows, and in the deepest darkness of death itself, songs of confidence, songs of spiritual joy, songs of praise and thanksgiving ; saying with all the glorified ones, ‘ Blessing, honor, glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.’ ”

Two sermons, preached at Heigham, not long before his death, also show the happy frame of mind in which this holy man was enabled to contemplate his approaching end. In the first, “ Life a sojourning,” from 1 Peter i. 17, he says, “ The motions of time are quick and irrevocable, ye cannot think of it but with wings. It is but a short word, a monosyllable ; while we are speaking of it, it is gone. It pleased the providence of my God so to contrive it, that this day, as on this very morning, fourscore years ago, I was born into the world. A great time since, ye are ready to say ; and so indeed it seems to you that look at it forward ; but to me, that look at it as past, it seems so short, that it is gone like a tale that is told, or a dream by night, and looks but like yesterday.”

“ My dear brethren, it is a great way to heaven, and we have but a little time to get thither. God says to us, as the angel said to Elijah, ‘ Up, for thou hast a great journey to go : ’ and if, as I fear, we have loitered in the way, and have trifled away any part of the

time in vain impertinencies, we have so much more need to gird up our loins, and to hasten our pace." He adds many more remarks on the importance of attending without delay to the concerns of our souls. Noticing the words of his text, that our sojourning here must be in fear, he says, " Perhaps the authors and abettors of the uncomfortable doctrine of diffidence and uncertainty of resolution in the spiritual state of our souls, would be glad of such an overture for the maintenance of those disheartening positions, which they have broached into the world to this purpose ; but their mouths are soon stopped with the addition of the name of a ' Father,' which is abundantly sufficient to sweeten this harsh sound of fear." He then quotes Romans viii. 15, as a comment upon his text, and proceeds, " There are, indeed, the terrors of the Lord—yea, and sometimes like a displeased father, he knits his brow upon his dearest, if offending, children. The man after his own heart could say, ' Thy terrors have I suffered with a troubled mind ; thy fierce wrath goeth over me,' (Ps. lxxxviii. 15, 16,) which he speaks not only out of a true sense of his own misery, but as a just type of Him, who, in the bitterness of his agony, did sweat drops of blood, and with him cried out, ' My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?' Who yet was ' heard in that which he feared ;' heard and freed, heard and crowned. Thus sad may be the condition of the best of saints in the pangs of their trials ; which yet can be no other than safe, while with their Captain and Saviour they can say, ' My God, my God ;' and may hear God say unto them, ' Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name ; thou art mine.' (Is. xliii. 1.) He then shows that we should endeavour to cast off ' Slavish and Distrustful Fear,' and ever take with us the ' Fear of Reverence and of Circumspection.' "

The last sermon printed in his works, is called, " Good security ; a comfortable discourse of the

christian's assurance of heaven," grounded upon 2 Peter i. 10. The precise date when it was preached does not appear, but it was one of his last discourses; the object of it he states to be "to settle the hearts of those who profess the name of Christ, in a main case of christian resolution, concerning their present and final estate. The mean whereof is no less comfortable than useful, than the extremes lamentably dangerous. While one is causelessly confident, and dies presuming; another is wilfully careless, and perishes from neglect: both fearfully miscarry, and help to fill up hell. I shall desire to guide the wise christian in a midway between both these; and teach him how to be resolute without presumption, and to be filled with awe without distrust—How to labour for a holy security, and modest confidence." He then points out this mean, excluding the presumption which would exclude all fears, all doubting, and hesitation, and shows that there is a confidence, whereby our calling and election may be made sure, and that God commands us to take hold thereon. "The apostle said, 'I know whom I have believed,' 2 Tim. i. 12, and speaks this not as an extraordinary person, an apostle, but as a christian—in effect saying, 'I know that I have believed, and I know what I have believed. God, my almighty Saviour, is the object of my faith; my faith layeth sure hold on this happy object. I know whom I have believed. And why should we not labour to say so too?'" Bishop Hall then shows that every christian is invited in the strongest and plainest manner thus to believe, and that "God undertakes it in us. "The Spirit of God witnesseth with our spirits, that we are the sons of God. Can any man doubt of the truth of God's testimony?" He shows that it is the duty of a christian to attain well-grounded confidence, and adds, "Neither is the advantage more in the performance, than there is danger in the neglect. In all uncertainties there is a kind of afflictive fear, and troublesome misdoubt. Let a man walk in the dark; because he

cannot be confident where safely to set his steps, he is troubled with a continual suspicion of a sudden miscarriage, and therefore goes in pain. What can there be but discomfort in the soul which knows not on what terms it stands with God?" He adverts to the manner in which sound and wholesome doctrine may be abused, but says, "God forbid they should be imputed to the truth itself; as if that God, who charges us to do our endeavour to make *sure* work of our calling and election, did not well foresee the perils of these mistakings; and if, notwithstanding, his infinite wisdom hath thought fit to enjoin this task, how safe, how needful is it for us to perform it?" He dwells upon the necessity and the all-sufficiency of faith in the Saviour, to make our calling and election sure, and urges his hearers to "see" to this first, to look into their *own lives*: these are most open, and "Whosoever doth not righteousness is not of God." (1 John iii. 10.) Secondly, to look into their *own bosoms*, seeking for a lively faith in the Son of God, a sure hope in Christ. Also to look *behind* them, seeing how much precious time has been lost; and overlooking this vain and worthless world, to bend all their best endeavours to make sure work for eternity. To look *before* them, and see the shortness and uncertainty of this which is called a life. To look *below* them, and see the horror of that dreadful place of torment, and lastly to look *above*, and earnestly aspire to heaven, "to the full possession whereof, He that hath purchased it for us by his most precious blood, in his good time happily bring us."

Such were the feelings of bishop Hall in his latter days. We have no particular account of his last hours, but it is evident that he was gathered into the garner of his Lord and Master as a ripe shock of corn in his full season. In his funeral sermon the preacher only states generally, "When his time drew nigh that he must die, he much longed for death, and was ready to bid it welcome, and spake always very kindly of it. This good man welcomed death, as if he had been to

embrace a mother or a sister. He took good notice of the approach of death, and set his house in order as Israel did, by distributing to his children the blessings that God had left him." The preacher also stated, that "his bodily alms were constant and bountiful. In the parish where he last lived, he gave a weekly sum of money to certain poor widows to his dying day, over and above his imposed rates, wherein he was never spared. He was one that, as St. John exhorts, loved not in word, or in tongue only, but in deed and in truth, and showed it plentifully upon all occasions. One that had Jacob's voice, but could never endure so much as the disguise of Esau's churlish hands." He concludes, "Follow the steps of his holy life, and the instructions of his godly books; learn of Israel, and of this parallel father, to prize the spiritual birth-right above any present fleshly enjoyments, and to wrestle with God for it in prayer. Meditate much, and often, of heaven and heavenly things, as he did; imitate him in his holy vows, and be careful to pay them. Follow, I say, the steps of his faith and charity, and you cannot miss of such an end. For as many as walk according to this rule, peace shall be upon them, and upon the Israel of God. Amen."

Bishop Hall died at Heigham, September 8, 1656, in the eighty-second year of his age, and, according to his express desire, was buried without funeral pomp.

Many of bishop Hall's writings have been noticed in the preceding pages. They form ten closely printed octavo volumes. His *Contemplations* and *Paraphrase upon the hard texts of scripture* are well known, and have been consulted by several of our best commentators. His *Meditations* also, have been widely circulated; they are valuable for their spirituality and the instruction they convey, and are written in a much superior manner to any similar publications of that day, and free from those verbal witticisms which then were so commonly introduced into writings even upon the most serious subjects. His

“ Balm of Gilead,” and some other tracts, have been often reprinted. These works need not be further noticed here ; but a few extracts may be given from some of the productions of his pen in his retirement.

One of bishop Hall’s latter pieces is, “ The Soul’s Farewell to Earth.” It closes with the following beautiful passage :—

“ And now what remains, O my soul, but that thou do humbly and faithfully wait at the gate of heaven, for a happy entrance, at the good pleasure of thy God, into those everlasting mansions ?

“ I confess, should thy merits be weighed in the balance of a rigorous justice, another place, which I cannot mention without horror, were more fit for thee, more due to thee ; for, alas, thou hast been above measure sinful ; and thou knowest the wages of sin—death. But the God of my mercy hath prevented thee, with infinite compassion (Ps. lix. 10) ; and, in the multitude of his tender mercies, hath not only delivered thee from the nethermost hell (Ps. lxxxvi. 13) ; but hath also vouchsafed to translate thee to the kingdom of his dear Son (Col. i. 13). In him, thou hast boldness of access to the throne of grace ; thou, who in thyself art worthy to be a child of wrath, art in him adopted to be a co-heir of glory, and hast the livery and seizin given thee beforehand, of a blessed possession, the full estating wherein I do in all humble awfulness attend. All the days, therefore, of my appointed time, will I wait at the threshold of grace, until my changing come ; with a trembling joy, with a longing patience, with a comfortable hope.

“ Only, Lord, I know there is something to be done, ere I can enter. I must die ere I can be capable to enjoy that blessed life with thee ; one stroke of thine angel must be endured in my passage into thy paradise. And lo, here am I before thee, ready to embrace the condition ; even when thou pleasest let me bleed once to be ever happy. Thou hast, after a weary walk through this roaring wilderness, vouchsafed to call up



thy servant to mount Nebo ; and from thence, afar off, to show me the land of promise, a land that flows with milk and honey. Do thou but say, ‘ Die thou on this hill,’ with this prospect in mine eye ; and do thou mercifully take my soul from me, who gavest it to me ; and dispose of it where thou wilt, in that region of immortality. Amen, amen. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.

“ Behold, Lord, I have, by thy providence, dwelt in this house of clay more than double the time, wherein thou wast pleased to sojourn upon earth ; yet I may well say, with thy holy patriarch, Few and evil have been the days of the years of my pilgrimage—few in number, evil in condition.

“ Few in themselves, but none at all to thee, with whom a few years are but as one day. But had they been double to the age of Methuselah, could they have been so much as one minute to eternity ? Yea, what are they to me, now that they are past, but as a tale that is told and forgotten ?

“ Neither yet have they been so few, as evil. O Lord, what troubles and sorrows hast thou let me see, both my own and others ! What vicissitudes of sickness and health ! what ebbs and flows of condition ! how many successions and changes of condition, both at home and abroad ! what turnings of times ! what alterations of governments ! what shiftings and downfalls of favorites ! what ruins and desolations of kingdoms ! what sacking of cities ! what havocs of war ! what frenzies of rebellions ! what underminings of treachery ! what cruelties and barbarisms in revenges ! what anguish in the oppressed and tormented ! what agonies in temptations ! what pangs in dying ! These I have seen, and in these I have suffered. And, now Lord, how willing I am to change time for eternity ; the evils of earth for the joys of heaven ; misery for happiness ; a dying life for immortality ! Even so, Lord Jesus ; take what thou hast bought ; receive my soul to thy mercy, and crown it with thy glory. Amen, amen, amen.”

In another tract, entitled, "The Breathings of the devout Soul," bishop Hall thus refers to his own trials : " Under how opposite aspects do I stand, from the world ! how variously am I construed by men ! One pities my condition ; another praises my patience ; one favors me, out of the opinion of some good that he thinks he sees in me ; another dislikes me for some imagined evil. What are the eyes or tongues of men to me ? Let me not know what they say or think of me, and what am I the better or worse for them ? They can have no influence upon me without my own apprehension. All is, in what terms I stand with thee, my God. If thou be pleased to look upon me with the eye of thy tender mercy and compassion, what care I to be unjustly brow-breaten of the world ? If I may be blessed with thy favor, let me be made ' a gazing stock to the world, to angels, and to men.' "

Another of these breathings refers to the millenium, a subject which then much occupied the minds of christians. After noticing the variety of opinions of those who had written thereon, he adds, " How busy are the tongues of men, how are their brains taken up, with the indeterminable construction of this enigmatical truth ; when, in the mean time, the care of thy spiritual reign in their hearts is neglected ! O my Saviour, while others weary themselves with the disquisition of thy personal reign here upon earth for a thousand years, let it be the whole bent and study of my soul to make sure of my personal reign with thee in heaven to all eternity. "

Another pleasing tract is entitled, " Soliloquies ; or, holy self-conferences of the devout soul, with humble addresses to the throne of grace. " Extracts might easily be multiplied, but one must suffice, on " the sure Refuge : " " Miserable is the case of that man, who, when he is pursued with whole troops of mischiefs, hath not a fort wherein to succour himself ; and safe and happy is that soul, that hath a sure and impregnable hold whereto he may resort. Oh the noble

example of holy David ! Never man could be more perplexed than he was at his Ziklag ; his city burnt, his whole stock plundered, his wives carried away, his people cursing, his soldiers mutinying, pursued by Saul, cast off by the Philistines, helpless, hopeless, ‘ But David fortified himself in the Lord his God.’ (1 Sam. xxx. 6.) There, there, O Lord, is a sure help in the time of trouble ; a safe protection in the time of danger ; a most certain remedy of all complaints. Let my dove get once into the holes of that Rock, in vain shall all the birds of prey hover over me for my destruction.”

This brief sketch of bishop Hall may be closed with the following extract from his work, “ A pathological Meditation on the Love of Christ.” “ Thou lovedst me when I was deformed, loathly, forlorn, and miserable ; shall I not now love thee, when thou hast freed me, and decked me with the ornaments of thy graces ? Lord Jesus, who should enjoy the fruit of thine own favors but thyself ? How shamefully injurious were it, that when thou hast trimmed up my soul, it should prostitute itself to the love of the world ! O take my heart to thee alone ; possess thyself of that which no one can claim but thyself.

“ Thou lovedst me when I was a professed rebel against thee ; and receivedst me, not to mercy only, but to the endearment of a subject, a servant, a son ; where should I place the improvement of the thankful affections of my loyalty and duty, but upon thee ?

“ Thou, O God, hast so loved us, that thou wouldst become the Son of man for our sakes ; that we, who are the sons of men, might become the sons of God. O that we could put off the man to put on Christ ; that we could neglect and hate ourselves for thee, that hast so dearly loved us as to lay aside thy heavenly glory for us.”

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# CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY.

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## THE LIFE OF THE REV. PHILIP HENRY;

BY HIS SON, REV. MATTHEW HENRY,

*Abridged.*

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Religious Tract Society,

*Instituted 1799;*

PUBLISHED AND SOLD AT THE DEPOSITORY, 56, PATER-  
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passage I have heard him relate of a friend of his, who, being asked how old he was, answered, "On the wrong side of fifty:" which (said Mr. Henry) "he should not have said;" for, if he was going to heaven, it was "the right side of fifty."

He always kept a will by him, and it was his custom yearly, upon the return of his birth-day, to review, and (if occasion were) to renew and alter it; for it is good to do that at a set time, which it is very good to do at some time. The last will he made bears date, "This 24th day of August, 1695, being the day of the year on which I was born, 1631, and also the day of the year on which by law I died, as did also near two thousand faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, 1662;" alluding to that clause in the Act of Uniformity, which disposed of the places and benefices of ministers not conforming, "as if they were naturally dead."

His father's name was John Henry, the son of Henry Williams, of Briton's Ferry, betwixt Neath and Swansea, in Glamorganshire. According to the old Welsh custom, the father's christian name was the son's surname. He had left his native country very young, unprovided for by his relations; but it pleased God to bless his ingenuity and industry with a considerable income afterwards, which enabled him to live comfortably, to bring up his children well, and to be kind to many of his relations; but public events making against him at his latter end, when he died he left little for his children, but God graciously took care of them. Providence brought this Mr. John Henry when he was young, to be the earl of Pembroke's gentleman, whom he served many years: the earl coming to be lord-chamberlain, preferred him to be the king's servant. He was first made keeper of the Orchard at Whitehall, and afterwards page of the Back Stairs to the King's second son, James, duke of York, which place obliged him to a personal attendance upon the duke in his chamber. He lived

and died a courtier; a hearty mourner for his royal master king Charles the first, whom he did not long survive. He continued, during all the war-time, in his house at Whitehall, though the profits of his place ceased. The king, passing by his door, under a guard, when he was going to Westminster, to that which was called his trial, enquired for his old servant, Mr. John Henry, who was ready to pay his due respects to him, and prayed God to bless his majesty, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies, for which the guard had like to have been rough upon him.

His mother was Mrs. Magdalen Rochdale, of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in Westminster. She was a virtuous, pious gentlewoman, one that feared God above many. She was altogether dead to the vanities and pleasures of the court, though she lived in the midst of them. She looked well to the ways of her household; prayed with them daily, catechized her children, and taught them the good knowledge of the Lord betimes. He often mentioned, with thankfulness to God, his great happiness in having such a mother, who was to him as Lois and Eunice were to Timothy, acquainting him with the Scriptures from his childhood. As there appeared in him early inclinations both to learning and piety, she devoted him in his tender years to the service of God, in the work of the ministry. She died of a consumption, March 6, 1645, leaving behind her only this son and five daughters. A little before she died, she had this saying, "My head is in heaven, and my heart is in heaven; it is but one step more, and I shall be there too."

Prince Charles and the duke of York being nearly of his age, he was in his childhood an attendant upon them in their play; they were often with him at his father's house, and were wont to tell him what preferment he should have at court, as soon as he was fit for it. He kept a book to his dying day, which the



duke of York gave him; and I have heard him regret the loss of two curious pictures, which he gave him likewise. Archbishop Laud took a particular kindness to him when he was a child, because he would be very officious to attend at the Water-gate (which was part of his father's charge in Whitehall) to let the archbishop through, when he came late from council, to cross the water to Lambeth.

These circumstances of his childhood he would sometimes speak of among his friends, not as glorying in them, but taking occasion from thence to bless God for his deliverance from the snares of the court; in the midst of which it is so very hard to maintain a good conscience and the power of religion. The breaking up and scattering of the court, by the calamities of 1641, as it dashed the expectations of his court-preferments, so it prevented the danger of court-entanglements: and though it was not, like Moses', a choice of his own, when come to years, to quit the court; yet, when he was come to years, he always expressed great satisfaction in his removal from it, and blessed God who chose his inheritance so much better for him.

Yet it may not be improper to observe here what was obvious, as well as amiable, to all who conversed with him; namely, that he had the most sweet and obliging air of courtesy and civility that could be; which some attributed, in part, to his early education at court. His mien and carriage were always so very decent and respectful, that it could not but win the hearts of all he had to do with. Never was any man further from rudeness and moroseness, which some scholars, and too many that profess religion, either wilfully affect, or carelessly allow themselves in, sometimes to the reproach of their profession. It is one of the laws of our holy religion, exemplified in the conversation of this good man, to honour all men. Sanctified civility is a great ornament to christianity.

It was a saying he often used, "Religion does not destroy good manners;" and yet he was very far from any thing of vanity in apparel, or formality of compliment in address; his conversation was all natural and easy to himself and others; and nothing appeared in him which a severe critic could call affected. This temper of his tended very much to the adorning of the doctrine of God our Saviour; and the general transcript of such an excellent copy, would do much towards the healing of those wounds, which religion has received in the house of her friends by the contrary.—But to return to his story.

The first Latin school he went to was at St. Martin's Church, under the teaching of Mr. Bonner. Afterwards he was removed to Battersea, where Mr. Wells was his school-fellow. The grateful mention which, in some of his papers, he makes of those who were the guides and instructors of his childhood and youth, brings to mind a French proverb to this purpose, "To father, teacher, and God all-sufficient, none can render equivalent."

In the year 1643, when he was about twelve years old, he was admitted into Westminster school, in the form under Mr. Thomas Vincent, then usher, of whom he would often speak, as a most able, diligent school-master; and one who grieved so much at the dulness and non-proficiency of any of his scholars, that, falling into a consumption, I have heard Mr. Henry say of him, that he even, "killed himself with false Latin."

Awhile after he was taken into the upper school, under Mr. Richard (afterwards Dr.) Busby. In October, 1645, he was admitted king's scholar, and was first of the election, partly by his own merit, and partly by the interest of the earl of Pembroke.

Here he profited greatly in school-learning, and all his days retained his improvements therein to admiration. When he was in years, he would readily

quote passages out of the classic authors that were not common ; yet he rarely used any such things in his preaching, though sometimes (if very apposite) he inserted them in his notes. Here and before, his usual recreation at vacant times, was either reading the printed accounts of public occurrences, or attending the courts at Westminster-hall, to hear the trials and arguments there, which I have heard him say, he has often done to the loss of his dinner, and oftener of his play.

But let us speak of better things ; soon after the civil war began, there was a daily morning-lecture set up at the Abbey-church, between six and eight o'clock, and preached by seven members of the assembly of divines, in course: Mr. Marshal, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Herle, Dr. Staunton, Mr. Nye, Mr. Whitaker, and Mr. Hill. It was the request of his pious mother, to Mr. Busby, that he would give her son leave to attend that lecture daily, which he did, not abating any thing of his school exercise, in which he kept pace with the rest ; but only dispensing with his absence for that hour : and the Lord was pleased to make good impressions on his soul, by the sermons he heard there. His mother, also, took him with her every Thursday to Mr. Case's lecture at St. Martin's. On the Lord's day he sat under the powerful ministry of Mr. Stephen Marshal, in the morning at the New Chapel, in the afternoon at St. Margaret's Westminster, which was their parish-church. This minister, and ministry, he would to the last, speak of with great respect, and thankfulness to God, as that by which he was, through grace, in the beginning of his days, begotten again to a lively hope. I have heard him speak of it, as the saying of some wise men at that time, That if all the presbyterians had been like Mr. Stephen Marshal, and all the independents like Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, and all the episcopalians like archbishop Usher, the breaches of the church would soon have been healed.

He also attended constantly upon the monthly fasts at St. Margaret's, where the best and ablest ministers of England preached before the house of commons; and the service of the day was carried on with great strictness and solemnity, from eight in the morning till four in the evening. It was his constant practice, from eleven or twelve years old, to write, as he could, all the sermons he heard, which he kept very carefully, and transcribed many of them.

At these monthly fasts, as he himself has recorded, he had often sweet meltings of soul in prayer, and confession of sin; many lively truths came home to his heart, and he daily increased in that wisdom and knowledge which is to salvation. Read his reflections upon this, which he wrote many years after: "If ever any child, such as I then was, between the tenth and fifteenth year of my age, enjoyed line upon line, precept upon precept, I did. And was it in vain? I trust not altogether in vain. My soul rejoiceth and is glad at the remembrance of it. The word distilled as the dew, and dropt as the rain. I loved it, and loved the messengers of it; their very feet were beautiful to me. And, Lord, what a mercy was it, that at a time when the poor country parts were laid waste, when the noise of drums and trumpets, and the clattering of arms was heard there, and the ways to Sion mourned, that then my lot should be where there was peace and quietness, and great plenty of gospel opportunities! Bless the Lord, O my soul. As long as I live, I will bless the Lord: I will praise my God while I have my being. Had it been only the restraint that it laid upon me, whereby I was kept from the common sins of other children and youth, such as cursing and swearing, sabbath-breaking and the like, I were bound to be very thankful: but that it prevailed through grace effectually to bring me to God, how much am I indebted, and what shall I render!"

Thus the dews of heaven softened his heart by degrees. From these early experiences of his own—

1. He would blame those who laid so much stress on people's knowing the exact time of their conversion, which he thought was with many not possible to do. Who can so soon be aware of the day-break, or of the springing up of the seed sown? The work of grace is better known in its effects than in its causes. He would sometimes illustrate this by that saying of the blind man to the Pharisees, who were so critical in examining the recovery of his sight: this and the other I know not concerning it, but "This one thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see," (John ix. 25.)

2. He would bear his testimony to the comfort and benefit of early piety, and recommend it to all young people as a good thing to bear the yoke of the Lord Jesus in youth. He observed concerning Obadiah, (and he was a courtier) that he "feared the Lord from his youth," (1 Kings xviii. 12;) and, it is said of him, ver. 3, that he "feared the Lord greatly." Those that would come to fear God greatly, must learn to fear him from their youth. No man did his duty so naturally as Timothy did (Phil. ii. 20), who from a child knew the Holy Scriptures. In dealing with young people, how earnestly would he press this upon them, "I tell you, you cannot begin too soon to be religious, but you may put it off too long." Manna must be gathered early; and He that is the first must have the first. He often inculcated (Eccl. xii. 1,) "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth,"—in the original, "of thy choice," thy choosing days.

I remember a passage of his in a lecture-sermon, in the year 1674, which much affected many; he was preaching on that text, (Matt. xi. 30,) "My yoke is easy;" and, after many things insisted upon, to prove the yoke of Christ easy, he at last appealed to the experience of all that had drawn in that yoke. "Call

now, if there be any that will answer you, and to which of the saints will you turn? turn to which you will, and they will all agree that they have found wisdom's ways pleasantness, and Christ's commandments not grievous. I will here witness for one, who through grace has, in some poor measure, been drawing in this yoke now above thirty years; and has found it an easy yoke, and likes the choice too well to change."

3. He would also recommend it to the care of parents, to bring their children betimes to public ordinances. He would say, "That they are capable, sooner than we are aware, of receiving good by them." The scripture takes notice, more than once, of the little ones in the solemn assemblies of the faithful, (Deut. xxix. 11; Ezra x. 1; Acts xxi. 5.)

But it is time to return to Westminster-school, where, having begun to learn Christ, we left him in the successful pursuit of other learning, under the eye and care of that great master, Dr. Busby, who, on account of his parts and diligence, took a particular kindness to him, called him his child, and would sometimes tell him he should be his heir; and there was no love lost between them. Dr. Busby was noted for being a very severe schoolmaster, especially in the beginning of his time. But Mr. Henry would say, sometimes, that in so great a school there was need of strict discipline; so, for his own part, of the four years he was in the school, he never felt the weight of his hand but once, and then (he says in some of the remarks of his youth, which he wrote long after), "I deserved it: for being monitor of the chamber, and according to the duty of this place, being sent to seek a truant, I found him, and, at his earnest request, I promised to say I could not find him, which I wickedly did." Next morning the truant coming under examination, was asked whether he saw the monitor, and he said "Yes, I did," at which Dr. Busby was much surprised, and turned his eyes upon the monitor,



with this word, "What thou, my son!" gave him correction, and appointed him to make a penitential copy of Latin verses; which when he brought, he gave him sixpence, and received him into his favor again.

Among the mercies of God in his youth, he has recorded a remarkable deliverance he had at Westminster-school, which was this: it was customary among the studious boys, for one, two, or more, to sit up the former part of the night at study, and when they went to bed about mid-night to call others at two or three o'clock, as they desired. His request was to be called at twelve, and being awaked, he desired his candle might be lighted, which stuck to the bed's head; but he fell asleep again, the candle fell, and burnt part of the bed and bolster before he awoke; but through God's good providence seasonable help came in, the fire was quenched, and he received no harm.

When he was at Westminster-school he was employed by Dr. Busby, as some others of the most ingenious and industrious of his scholars were, in reading Greek authors, to collect, by his direction, some materials for that excellent Greek grammar which he afterwards published.

But be the school ever so agreeable, youth is desirous to commence man by a removal from it. This step he took in the sixteenth year of his age. It was the ancient custom of Westminster-school, that all the king's scholars, who stood candidates for an election to the University, were to receive the Lord's supper the Easter before, which he did with the rest, in St. Margaret's Church at Easter, 1647. He would often speak of the great pains which Dr. Busby took with his scholars, that were to approach that solemn ordinance, for several weeks before, at stated times; with what skill and seriousness of application, and manifest concern for their souls, he opened to them the nature of the ordinance, and the work they had to do in it, and instructed them what was to be done

in preparation for it; this he made a business of, appointing them religious exercises, instead of their school exercises. What success this had through the grace of God upon young Mr. Henry, for whom the Doctor had a particular regard; read from his own hand. 'There had been treaties (says he) before, between my soul and Jesus Christ, with some weak overtures towards him; but then, then I think it was the match was made, the knot tied. Then I set myself in the strength of divine grace, about the work of self-examination, in order to repentance; and then I repented,—that is solemnly and seriously, with some poor meltings of soul, I confessed my sins before God, original and actual, judging and condemning myself for them, and casting away from me all my transgressions, receiving Christ Jesus the Lord, as the Lord my righteousness, and devoting and dedicating my whole self absolutely and unreservedly to his fear and service. After which, coming to the ordinance, there, there I received him indeed, and he became mine; I say mine. Bless the Lord, O my soul! Encouraged by this experience, I have myself (says he in one of his papers) taken like pains with divers others at their first admission to the Lord's table, and have through grace seen the comfortable fruits of it, both in my own children and others; to God be glory!'

He makes a very grateful mention of Dr. Busby's agency under God in this blessed work, in divers of his papers: "The Lord recompense it," says he, "a thousand-fold into his bosom!"

Thus, before his launching out into the world, was this great concern happily settled, which through grace he had, all his days, more or less the comfort of, in an even serenity of mind, and a peaceful expectation of the glory to be revealed.

May 17, 1647, he was chosen from Westminster-school to Christ's Church College, in Oxford.

## CHAP: II.

*His years spent at Oxford.*

THOUGH Philip Henry was chosen to the University in May, yet being then young, under sixteen, and in love with his school-learning, he made no great haste thither. It was in December following, 1647, that he removed to Oxford. Some merciful providences in his journey, he being a young traveller, affected him much; and he used to speak of God's goodness to him in them, according to the impressions then made by them. He has recorded them with this thankful note, "That there may be a great mercy in a small matter;" as the care that was taken of him by strangers, when he fainted and was sick in his inn the first night; and his casual meeting with Mr. Annesley, son to the Viscount Valentia, (who was chosen from Westminster-school, at the same time,) when his other company, going another way, had left him alone, and utterly at a loss what to do. Thus the sensible remembrance of old mercies may answer the intention of new ones, which is to engage our obedience to God, and to encourage our dependance on him.

Being come to Oxford, he was immediately entered commoner of Christ's Church, where Dr. Samuel Fell was then dean; the tutor assigned to him and the rest of that election, was Mr. Underwood, a very learned ingenious gentleman.

His godfather, the Earl of Pembroke had given him ten pounds to buy a gown, to pay his fees, and to set out with. This in his papers he puts a mark upon, as a seasonable mercy on account of some straits, which providence, by the calamity of the times, had brought his father into. God had taught him from his youth that excellent principle, which he adhered to all his days, that "Every creature is that to us, which God

makes it to be, and no more;" and therefore, while many seek the ruler's favour, and so expect to make their fortunes, as they call it, seeing "Every man's judgment proceedeth from the Lord," it is our wisdom to seek His favour, who is the Ruler of rulers, and that is an effectual way to make sure our happiness.

To the proper studies of this place he now vigorously addressed himself; but still retained a great kindness for the classic authors, and the exercises he loved so well at Westminster-school.

He was admitted student of Christ's Church, March 24, 1647-8, by Dr. Henry Hammond, that great man, the sub-dean, who called him his godbrother, the Earl of Pembroke being his godfather also, and Prince Henry, the other, who gave him his name.

The visitation of the university by the parliamentary Commissioners, happened to be the next month. Oxford had been for a good while in the hands of the parliament, and no change made; but now the Earl of Pembroke, and several others thereunto appointed, went thither to settle things upon a new foundation. The account Mr. Henry in his papers gives of this affair, is to this purpose. The sole questions which the visitors proposed to each person, in every college, that had any place of profit, was this, "Will you submit to the power of the parliament in this present visitation?" which all were to answer in writing; and accordingly were either displaced or continued. Some cheerfully complied, others absolutely refused, among whom he would sometimes tell of one that was but of his standing, who gave in this bold answer; "I neither can nor will submit to the power of the parliament in this present visitation; I say I cannot; I say I will not, J. C." Others answered doubtfully, pleading youth and ignorance in such matters. Mr. Henry's answer was, "I submit to the power of the parliament in the present visitation, as far as I may with a safe conscience and without perjury." His reason for the last

salvo was, because he had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy a little before, at his admission; which he was very jealous of doing any thing to contradict or infringe, according to the character of the good man, that "he fears an oath:" this made him sometimes signify a dislike of that practice of administering oaths to such as were scarcely past children, who could hardly be supposed to take them with judgment, as oaths should be taken. However this answer of his satisfied; and by the favour of the Earl of Pembroke he was continued in his student's place. But great alterations were made in that as in other colleges, very much, undoubtedly, to the hindrance and discouragement of the scholars, who came thither to get learning, not to judge of the rights of government. Dr. Samuel Fell, the dean, was removed, and Dr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was put in his room; Dr. Hammond and all the canons, except Dr. Wall, were displaced; and Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Pocock, and others of the parliament's friends, were preferred to their places. His thoughts of this in the reflection long after were, that milder methods might have done better, and would have been a firmer establishment to the new interest; but considering that many of those who were put out, being in expectation of a sudden change, which came not of many years after, were exasperating in their carriage towards the visitors, and that the parliament, who at this time were masters, had many of their own friends ready for university preferments, which, as Oxford had been from the beginning, a garrison for the king, they had long been kept out of, it was not strange if they took such strict methods. And yet, nothing being required but a bare submission, which might be interpreted but as crying quarter, he thought that it could not be said, the terms were hard: especially, says he, if compared with those of another nature imposed since.

Among other student-masters removed, his tutor, Mr. Underwood, was one, which he often bewailed as a loss to himself; for he was a good scholar, and one that made it his business to look after his pupils, who were very likely, by the blessing of God, to have profited under his conduct; but upon the removal of Mr. Underwood, he, with some others, were turned over to Mr. Finmore, who was then in the interest which was uppermost, and was afterwards prebendary of Chester; a person, as he notes, able enough, but not willing to employ his abilities for the good of those that were committed to his charge; towards whom he had little more than the name of a tutor. But it pleased God to give him an interest in the affections of a young man, an under-graduate then, and but two or three years his senior, from Westminster, one Mr. Richard Bryan, who took him to be his chamber-fellow, while he continued at Oxford, read to him, and directed him in his studies. Of this gentleman he makes very honourable mention, as one who was, through God's blessing, an instrument of much good to him. Mr. John Fell, also, the dean's son, afterwards himself Dean of Christ Church, and Bishop of Oxford, taking pity on him, and some others that were neglected, voluntarily read to them for some time; a kindness of which he retained a very grateful sense, and for which he much honoured that learned and worthy person.

Here he duly performed the college exercises, disputations every day, in term-time; themes and verses once a week, and declamations when it came to his turn; in which performances he frequently came off with great applause: and many of his manuscripts which remain, shew how well he improved his time there.

And yet in some reflections I find under his hand, written long after, wherein he looks back upon his



early days, he charges it upon himself, that for a good while after he came to the University, though he was known not to be inferior to any of his standing in public exercises, yet he was too much a stranger to that hard study which afterwards he became acquainted with; and that he lost a deal of time which might have been better improved. Thus he is pleased to accuse himself of that, which no one else did, or could accuse him of. But the truth is, in all the secret accounts he kept of himself, he appears to have had a very quick and deep sense of his own failings and infirmities, in the most minute instances; the loss of time; weakness and distraction in holy duties; not improving opportunities of doing good to others, and the like; lamentably bewailing these imperfections, and charging them upon himself, with as great expressions of shame and sorrow, and self-abhorrence and crying out as earnestly for pardon and forgiveness in the blood of Jesus, as if he had been the greatest of sinners. For though he was a man that walked very closely, yet withal he walked very humbly with God, and lived a life of repentance and self-denial. This reminds me of a sermon of his, which one might discern came from the heart, on that Scripture, (Rom. vii. 24.) "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" "A strange complaint, (says he,) to come from the mouth of one who had learned in every state to be content. Had I been to have given my thoughts, concerning Paul, I should have said, O blessed man that thou art, who hast been in the third heaven, a great apostle, a spiritual father to thousands, &c. and yet a wretched man all this while, in his own account and esteem. He never complains thus of the bonds and afflictions that did abide him, the prisons that were frequent, the stripes above measure, but the body of death, that is, the body of sin, that was what he groaned under." How

feelingly did he observe from thence, "That the remains of indwelling corruption are a very grievous burden to a gracious soul!"

But to return, it may not be amiss to set down the causes to which he ascribes his loss of time when he came first to the University. One was, that he was young, too young, and understood not the value of his opportunities, which made him advise his friends not to send their children too soon from school to the University, though they may seem ripe, in respect of learning, till they have discretion to manage themselves: while they are children, what can be expected but that they should mind childish things? Another was, that coming from Westminster-school, his attainments in school-learning were beyond what others generally had who came from other schools; so that he was tempted to think there was no need for him to study much, because it was so easy to him to keep pace with others; which, he said, Dr. Caldecotte, chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke, and his great friend, warned him of at his coming to Oxford. Another was, that there were two sorts of persons his contemporaries, some of the new stamp, that came in by the visitation, and were divers of them serious pious young men, but of small ability, comparatively, for learning; and for that reason he desired not to have much fellowship with them. But there were others of the old spirit and way, enemies to the parliament, and the reformation they made; and these were better scholars, but generally not better men. With them for awhile, he conversed most because of their learning: but he soon found it a snare to him, and that it took him off from the life of religion. But "for ever praised be the riches of God's free grace," says he, "that he was pleased still to keep his hold of me; and not to let me alone when I was running from him, but set his hand the second time, as the expression is, (Isa. xi. 11.) to snatch me "as a brand out of the fire." His recovery

from this snare he would call a kind of second conversion; so much was he affected with the preventing grace of God in it, and sensible of a double bond to be for ever thankful, as well as of an engagement to be watchful and humble.

At the latter end of the year 1648, he had leave given him to visit his father at Whitehall, with whom he stayed some time; there he was January 30th, 1648-9, when king Charles I. was beheaded, and with a very sad heart he saw that tragical blow given. Two things he observed and used to speak of, which, I know not whether any of the historians mention: one was, that when the blow was given, there was such a dismal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight of it, as he never heard before; and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. The other was, that immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop of soldiers marching from Charing-cross towards King-street, and another from King-street towards Charing-cross, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be filled with, by driving them to shift every one for his own safety. He did upon occasion testify his dislike of this unparalleled action, which he always said was a thing that could not be justified. For some years after King Charles II. came in, Philip Henry observed the day of humiliation for this sin, desiring that God would not lay the guilt of blood to the charge of the nation: but afterwards, finding to what purposes it was generally observed and improved, even to the reproaching and condemning, not only the innocent, but some of the excellent ones of the land; and noting that there is no precedent in Scripture of keeping annual days of humiliation for particular sins; especially after the immediate judgment is at an end, he took no further notice of it. But in his diary, he adds this tender remark, according to the spirit he

was of, "Yet good men no doubt may observe it to the Lord." (Rom. xiv. 6.) Thus he judged not, and why then should he be judged?

In the year 1650-1, he took his Bachelor of Arts degree, and he has recorded the goodness of God in raising him up friends, who helped him in the expenses. Such kindnesses have a peculiar sweetness in them to a good man, who sees and receives them as the kindness of God, and the tokens of his love.

He would often mention, with thankfulness to God, the great advantages he had in the University, not only for learning, but for religion and piety. Serious godliness was in reputation; and besides the public opportunities they had, there were many of the scholars who used to meet together for prayer, and christian conference, to the great confirming of one another's hearts, in the fear and love of God, and preparing them for the service of the church. I have heard him speak of the prudent method they took then about the University Sermons on the Lord's day in the afternoon: they used to be preached by the fellows of colleges in their course; but that being found not so much for edification, Dr. Owen, and Dr. Goodwin performed that service alternately, and the young Masters of Arts that were wont to preach them, had a lecture on Tuesday appointed them. The sermons he heard at Oxford he commonly wrote, not in the time of hearing, but when he came home, in his reflection upon them, which he found a good help to his memory.

In December 1652, he proceeded Master of Arts, and in January following preached his first sermon at South Hinksey, near Oxford, on John viii. 34. "Who-soever committeth sin, is the servant of sin." On this occasion he writes in his diary, what was the breathing in his heart towards God, "The Lord make use of me as an instrument of his glory, and his churches' good in this high and holy calling."

His great pains and improvement, notwithstanding

his extraordinary modesty and humility, had made him so well known in the University, that at the following act in July 1653, he was chosen out of all the masters of that year, to several honorable literary engagements.

Dr. Owen, who was then Vice-Chancellor, spoke with great commendation of his performances to some in the University afterwards, who only knew him by report: and I have heard a worthy divine, who was somewhat his junior in the University, and there a stranger to him, say, how much he admired these exercises, and loved him for them; and yet how much more he wondered, when he became acquainted with him in the country, that so polite an orator should become so profitable and powerful a preacher, and so readily lay aside the enticing words of man's wisdom, which were so easy to him.

There is a copy of Latin verses of his in print, among the poems which the University of Oxford published upon the peace concluded with Holland, in the year 1654, which shew him to be no less a poet than an orator.

He has noted it of some pious young men, that before they removed from the University into the country, they kept a day of fasting and humiliation for the sins they had been guilty of in that place and state. And in the visits he made afterwards to the University, he inserts into his book, as no doubt God did into his, "a tear dropt over my University sins."

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### CHAP. III.

*His removal to Worthenbury, in Flintshire; his ordination to the ministry, and his exercise of it there.*

WORTHENBURY is a little town on the river Dee, in that hundred of Flintshire which is separated some

miles from the rest of the county, and known by the name of the English Mailors; because though it is reputed to be in Wales, as pertaining to Flintshire, yet in language and customs it is wholly English, and lies mostly between Cheshire and Shropshire. Worthenbury was of old a parochial chapel belonging to the rectory of Bangor, but was separated from it in the year 1658 by the trustees for uniting and dividing of parishes, and was made a parish of itself. But what was then done being vacated at the Restoration, it came to be again an appurtenant to Bangor, till in the second year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, it was by act of parliament separated, and made independent of Bangor.

The principal family in Worthenbury parish was that of the Pulestons of Emeral. The head of the family then was John Puleston, Serjeant-at-law, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. To this family Mr. Henry came from Christ's Church, presently after he had completed his Master's degree, in 1653; ordered into that remote, and to him unknown, corner of the country, by that over-ruling providence which determineth "the bounds of our habitation." The Judge's lady was a person of more than ordinary parts and wisdom; in piety inferior to few, but in learning superior to most of her sex, which I could give instances of from what I find among Mr. Henry's papers, particularly an elegy she made upon the death of the learned Mr. John Selden, who was her great friend. Her agency brought Mr. Henry into the county. She wrote to a friend of hers, Mr. Francis Palmer, student of Christ's Church, to desire him to recommend to her a young man to be in her family, and to take the oversight of her sons, some of whom were ready for the University, and to preach at Worthenbury on the Lord's days, for which a very honourable encouragement was promised. Mr. Palmer proposed it to his friend Mr. Henry, who was willing



for one half year to undertake it, provided it might be required of him to preach but once on the Lord's day, and that some other supply might be got for the other part of the day; he being but twenty-two years of age, and newly entered upon that great work. Provided also, that he should be engaged for half a year only, not intending so soon to break off from an academical life, in which he so much delighted. But, preferring usefulness before his own private satisfaction, he was willing to make trial for a while, in the country; as one that sought not his own things, but the things of Jesus Christ, to whose service in the work of the ministry he had entirely devoted himself, bending his studies wholly that way. In the latter part of his time at Oxford, as one grown weary of that which, he used to say, he found little to his purpose, he employed his time mostly in searching the Scriptures, and collecting useful Scripture observations, which he made very familiar to him, and with which he was thoroughly furnished for this good work. He got a bible interleaved, in which he wrote short notes upon texts of Scripture as they occurred. He would often say, "I read other books, that I may be the better able to understand the Scripture." It was a stock of Scripture knowledge that he set up with, and with that he traded to good advantage. Though he was so great a master in the eloquence of Cicero, yet he preferred far before it that of Apollos, who was "an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures." Acts xviii. 24.

He bid very fair at that time for University preferment; such was the reputation he had gained at the late act, and such his interest with Dr. Owen: but his heart was upon the salvation of souls, to which he postponed all his other interests.

In September 1653 he came down to Emeral, from whence a messenger was sent to Oxford to conduct him thither. Long after when it had pleased God to

settle him in that country, and to build him up into a family, he would often reflect upon his coming into it first; what a stranger he then was, and how far it was from his thoughts to have made his home in those parts; and passing over a brook that divides Flintshire and Shropshire, would sometimes very affectionately use those words of Jacob, "With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands."

At Emeral he prayed in the family, was tutor to the young gentlemen, and preached once a day at Worthenbury; other help being procured for the other part of the day, according to his request. But it soon happened, that one Lord's day the supply that was expected failed, and he was necessitated, rather than there should be a vacancy, to preach twice; in which he found the promise so well fulfilled, "as thy day is, so shall thy strength be," and "to him, that hath, (that is, who useth what he hath,) shall be given, and he shall have abundance," that, to the great satisfaction of his friends there, from thenceforward he waved looking out for other help than what came from above; and would sometimes speak of this as an instance, "that we do not know what we can do till we have tried."

Here he applied himself to a plain and practical way of preaching, as one truly concerned for the souls of his hearers. He would say sometimes, "We study how to speak, that you may understand us. And I never think I can speak plain enough, when I am speaking about souls and their salvation." I have heard him say, he thought it did him good, that for the first half year of his being at Worthenbury, he had few books with him, which engaged him to a closer search of the Scripture and his own heart in studying sermons. What success his labours had in that parish, which, before he came to it, was accounted one of the most loose profane places in all

that country, may be gathered from part of a letter of Lady Puleston to him, at the end of the first half year after his coming to Emeral, when he was uncertain of his continuance there, and inclined to return to settle at Christ's Church.

“DEAR MR. HENRY,

“The indisposition that my sadness hath bred, and the stay of Mrs. V. here yesterday hindered my answering your last expressions. As to ordering the conversation, and persevering to the practice of those good intents, taken up while one is in the pursuit of a mercy, you and I will confer, as God gives opportunity, who also must give the will and the deed by his Spirit and by the rule of his word. As to begging that one thing for you, God forbid,” as Samuel said, “that I should cease to pray, &c.” “This I am sure, that having wanted hitherto a good minister of the word among us, I have oft, by prayer and some tears, above five years, besought God for such a one as yourself: which having obtained, I cannot yet despair, seeing he hath given us the good means, but he may also give us the good end. And this I find, that your audience is increased three for one in the parish, (though in winter, more than formerly in summer) and five for one out of other places. And I have neither heard of their being in the ale-house on the Lord's day, nor ball-playing that day, which before you came was frequent. I think I can name four or five in the parish, that of formal christians are becoming or become real: but you know all are not wrought on at first by the word. God may call them at the latter part of the day, though not in this half year. It is a good sign, that most are loth to part with you; and you have done more good in this half year than I have discerned these eighteen years: but, however, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, you have delivered your own soul. I have

prayed, and do pray, seeing God hath sent you, that you may be for his glory, and not for our condemnation."

It is easy to imagine what an encouragement this was to him, and what an inducement not to leave those, among whom God had thus owned him. However, that spring he returned to Oxford. The Lady Puleston soon after went thither, with her five sons, of whom she placed the two eldest under his charge, in the college. In the following vacation he went to London to visit his relations; and there in October he received a letter from Judge Puleston, with a very solemn and affectionate request, subscribed by the parishioners of Worthenbury, earnestly desiring his settlement among them, as their minister; which he was persuaded to comply with, having fixed to himself that good rule, in the turns of his life, "to follow providence, and not force it." So in the winter following he came down again, and settled with them. He continued in his student's place in Christ Church for two or three years, attending the service of it once a year; but disposing most of the profit of it for the use of poor scholars there.

The tithe of Worthenbury belonged to the Emeral family, paying some rent to the rector of Bangor. The tithe Judge Puleston was willing to give, clear of that charge, to the minister of Worthenbury for ever. But such was the peculiar and extraordinary kindness he had for Mr. Henry, upon the experience of his merits, that he chose rather, by deed of indenture, bearing date October 6, 1655, between himself and Mr. Henry, "In consideration of his being pleased to undertake the cure of souls, and to preach and teach, and perform other duties of divine service in the parish church of Worthenbury, (so the deed runs) to give, grant, and confirm, for himself and his heirs, unto the said Philip Henry, the yearly rent of one hundred pounds, charged upon all his messuages,

lands, and tenements, in the several counties of Flint, Denbigh, and Chester, to be paid quarterly, until such times as the said Philip Henry shall be promoted or preferred to some other spiritual or ecclesiastical living or preferment," with power of distress in case of non-payment. A hundred a year was more than Worthenbury tithes were worth at that time ; and the manner of gift freed the maintenance from much of that loss and incumbrance which commonly attends the gathering of tithe.

He continued for some years in the Emeral family, where he laid out himself very much for the spiritual good of the family, even of the meanest of the servants, by catechising, repeating the sermons, and personal instruction ; and he had much comfort in the countenance and conversation of the judge and his lady. Yet he complains sometimes in his diary of "the snares and temptations that he found there," especially because some of the branches of the family, who did not resemble their parents, were uneasy at his being there ; which made him willing to remove to a house of his own. When Judge Puleston perceived this, in the year 1657, out of his abundant and continued kindness to him, he did at his own charge build him a very handsome house in Worthenbury, and settled it upon him by a lease, bearing date March 6, 1657, for threescore years, "if he should so long continue minister at Worthenbury, and not accept of better preferment."

He has noted in his diary, that the day the workmen began to build that house, Mr. Mainwaring, of Malpas, preached the lecture of Bangor, from Psalm cxxvii. 1, "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." "There never was truth more seasonable to any, than this was to me."—He has recorded it as his great care, that his affections might be kept loose from it, and that it might not inroach upon God's interest in his heart. When it

was finished he thus writes, "I do from my heart bless God, that no hurt or harm befel any of the workmen in the building of it." Thus was his maintenance settled at Worthenbury.

In the year 1659, he was by a writing of Judge Puleston collated, nominated, and presented to the church of Worthenbury, (and the powers that then were, having so appointed) he had an approbation thereof from the commissioners for approbation of public preachers.

Some little opposition was made to his settlement at Worthenbury by Mr. Fogg, then rector of Bangor, because he conceived it an intrenchment upon his right to Worthenbury, and thought it might prejudice his recovering it by course of law. I only mention this for the sake of the note he has upon it in his diary, which is this: "I do earnestly desire that the judge may give Mr. Fogg all reasonable satisfaction, that there may be no appearance of wrong to him, or any other, in this thing." And when Mr. Fogg insisted on it, that Mr. Henry should give it under his hand, that he desired the consent of the said Mr. Fogg to be minister of Worthenbury, he yielded to do it for peace-sake; and from thence forward there was an intimate and entire friendship between Mr. Fogg and him.

Being thus settled at Worthenbury, his next care was concerning ordination to the work of the ministry; to which he would see his call very clear, before he solemnly devoted himself to it.

Mr. Henry was very desirous of being ordained at Worthenbury, but the ministers were not willing to set such a precedent; however, that was one thing which occasioned the delay, so that he was not ordained till September 16, 1657. The manner of his ordination was according to the known directory of the assembly of divines, and the common usage of the presbyterians.



The following was the confession that he delivered:—

“The ground and rule of my faith towards God, is the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; I believe they were written by holy men, immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost; having found the efficacy of them, in some measure, upon my own heart; I believe they are further able to make me wise to salvation.

Concerning God, I believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of those that diligently seek him.

The trinity of persons in the unity of the God-head, I receive and own as a truth, I admire and adore as a mystery; though no man hath seen God at any time, yet the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him, and what he hath declared concerning him, that I believe. I believe that God is a Spirit, for the Son hath said, “God is a Spirit.” I believe that he has life in himself. I believe all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. I believe by his providence he preserves, guides, and governs all the creatures, according to the purpose of his own will, to his own glory; for the Father worketh hitherto, and the Son also worketh.

I believe he made man upright after his own image and likeness, which image consisteth in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, but man by sin lost it.

I believe we were all in the loins of our first parents, and that they stood and fell as public persons, and upon that account justly, without any colour of wrong, we bear our share, both in the guilt of their disobedience, and also the corruption of their nature following thereupon; so that we come into the world children of wrath, and heirs of the curse, one as well as another; enemies to God, hating him, and hated of him; averse to what is good, and prone to all manner of evil. Though all are born in this condition, yet there are some that do not die in it.

I believe there is a Mediator, and there is but one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. Those whom the Father hath from everlasting pitched his love upon, and given to Christ, not because of works or faith foreseen, but merely of his free grace ; for those I believe Christ was sent forth into the world, made of a woman, made under the law ; for their sakes he sanctified himself, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross ; wherefore God also hath highly exalted him ; and having raised him from the dead on the third day, set him at his own right hand, where he ever lives, to make intercession for those for whom he shed his blood. All these elect redeemed ones I believe are in due time, sooner or later, in their lives effectually called, washed, sanctified, justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.

I believe the righteousness of Christ alone, apprehended by faith, is the matter of our justification before God ; and that no flesh can stand in his sight upon any other terms ; for he is the Lord our righteousness, and in him only the Father is well pleased.

I believe the work of sanctification, managed by the Spirit, who dwelleth in us, though in respect of parts it be complete, for the whole man is renewed ; yet in respect of degrees it is not fully perfected till we come to glory ; and I believe all that are justified shall be glorified, for we are kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation.

I believe the gathering in and building up of saints, is the special end why pastors and teachers are appointed in the church ; and that Jesus Christ, according to his promise, will be with them to the end of the world.

The Two Sacraments of the New Testament, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, I receive and own as signs and seals of the covenant of grace ; the former

instituted by our Lord Jesus, as a sign and seal of our ingrafting into him, due of right to all the infants of believing parents, and but once to be administered ; the other instituted by our Lord Jesus in the night wherein he was betrayed, to shew forth his death, and so seal the benefits purchased thereby to his church, and people, and to be often repeated.

When the body returns to the dust, I believe the soul returns to God that gave it : and that immediately it receives from him the sentence, according to what hath been done in the flesh, either “ Come, inherit the kingdom prepared, or Depart accursed into everlasting fire.”

I believe, besides this, a day of general judgment in the end of the world, wherein we must all appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ ; and that our bodies being raised by an Almighty power from the dust, shall be united to the same souls again, and shall partake with them in the same condition, either of happiness or misery, to all eternity. Those that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life, and those that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation.

This is the sum and substance of my faith, into which I was baptized, and in which, by the grace of God, I will live and die.”

Mr. Parsons then proposed certain questions to him, according to the instructions in the Directory, to which he returned answers as follow :—

*Question 1.* “ What are your ends in undertaking the work and calling of a minister ? ”

*Answer.* As far as upon search and enquiry I can hitherto find, though there be that within me that would seek great things for myself (if indeed they were to be found in this calling) yet with my mind I seek them not. But the improvement of the talent which I have received in the service of the gospel, for the glory of God and salvation of souls, I hope

is in my eye ; if there be any thing else, I own it not, I allow it not. While so many seek their own, it is my desire, and shall be my endeavour, to seek the things of Jesus Christ.

Q. 2. "What are your purposes, as to diligence and industry in this calling?"

A. I do purpose and resolve, by the help of God, to give myself wholly to these things ; to prayer, reading, meditation, instant preaching in season and out of season ; wherein I shall very gladly spend and be spent, if by any means I may both save myself and them that hear me. And when at any time I fail herein, I desire God by his Spirit, and my christian friends, neighbours and brethren, by seasonable reproof and admonition, to put me in mind of this engagement now made, in the presence of this great congregation.

Q. 3. "Do you mean to be zealous and faithful in the defence of truth and unity, against error and schism?"

A. I believe what the Spirit hath foretold, that in the last days, perilous times shall come wherein men will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall heap unto themselves teachers. 'Tis my resolution, by the grace of Christ, to watch in all things ; to contend earnestly for the faith ; to hold fast the form of sound and wholesome words, even the words of the Lord Jesus, and the doctrine which is according to godliness ; in meekness, as I am able, instructing those that oppose themselves : and for peace and unity, if my heart deceive me not, I shall rather choose to hazard the loss of any thing that is most dear to me, than be any way knowingly accessory to the disturbance of these in the churches of Christ?

Q. 4. "What is your persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion?"

A. My persuasion is, that the bishop of Rome is

that man of sin and son of perdition whom the Lord Jesus will consume with the spirit of his mouth, and whom he will destroy by the brightness of his coming. And the separation which our first reformers made, I do heartily rejoice in, and bless God for; for had we still continued to partake with him in his sins, we should in the end have partaken with him also in his plagues.

Q. 5. "What do you intend to do when the Lord shall alter your condition, and bring a family under your charge?"

A. When the Lord shall please in his providence to bring me into new relations, I hope he will give me grace to fill them up with duty. It is my purpose to wait upon him and to keep his way, to endeavour, in the use of means, that all that are mine may be the Lord's.

Q. 6. "Will you in humility and meekness submit to admonition and discipline?"

A. I believe it to be a duty incumbent upon all that profess the name of Christ to watch over one another, and that when any is overtaken in a fault, those that are spiritual are to set him in joint again with the spirit of meekness. It shall be my endeavour in the strength of Jesus Christ to walk without rebuke, and when at any time I step aside (for who is there that lives and sins not) I shall account the smiting of my brethren kindness, and their wounds faithful.

Q. 7. "What if troubles, persecutions, and discouragements arise, will you hold out to the end notwithstanding?"

A. Concerning this I am very jealous over my own heart, and there is cause; I find a great want of that zeal and courage for God which I know is required in a minister of the gospel; nevertheless, I persuade myself that no temptation shall befall me but such as is common to man, and that God who is faithful

will not suffer me to be tempted above that which I am able, but that with the temptation he will also make a way to escape, that I may be able to bear it. I promise faithfulness to the death ; but I rest not all in my promise to God, but in his to me ; “When thou goest through the fire, and through the water, I will be with thee.”

When this was done, Mr. Parsons prayed ; and in prayer, he and the rest of the presbyters laid their hands upon him, with words to this purpose : “Whom we do thus in thy name set apart to the work and office of the ministry.”

I have heard it said by those who were present at this solemnity, that Mr. Henry did in his countenance, carriage, and expression, discover such an extraordinary seriousness and gravity. and such deep impressions made upon his spirit, as greatly affected the auditory, and even struck an awe upon them.

Read the reflection upon it in his diary. “ Methought I saw much of God in the carrying on of the work of this day. O how good is the Lord ! he is good and doth good ; the remembrance of it I shall never lose ; to him be glory. I made many promises of diligence, faithfulness, &c., but I lay no stress at all upon them, but on God’s promise to me, that he will be with his ministers always to the end of the world. Amen, Lord, so be it. Make good thy word unto thy servant, wherein thou hast caused me to put my trust.” And in another place, “I did this day receive as much honour and work, as ever I shall be able to know what to do with. Lord Jesus, proportion supplies accordingly.” Two scriptures he desired might be written in his heart, 2 Cor. vi. 4, 5, &c. ; and 2 Chron. xxix. 11.

Two years after, upon an occasion of his being present at an ordination at Whitchurch, he thus writes—  
‘This day my ordination covenants, were in a special



manner renewed, as to diligence in reading, prayer, meditation, faithfulness in preaching, admonition, catechising, sacraments, zeal against error and profaneness, care to preserve and promote the unity and purity of the church, notwithstanding opposition and persecution, though to death. Lord, thou hast filled my hands with work, fill my heart with wisdom and grace that I may discharge my duty to thy glory, my own salvation, and the salvation of those that hear me. Amen.'

Let us now see how he applied himself to his work at Worthenbury. The sphere was narrow, too narrow for such a burning and shining light. There were then but forty-one communicants in that parish, and they were never doubled. Yet he had such low thoughts of himself, that he neither sought for a larger sphere, nor would hearken to any overtures of that kind: and withal, he had such high thoughts of his work, and the worth of souls, that he exerted as much diligence and vigour here, as if he had the over-sight of the largest and most considerable parish in the country.

The greatest part of the parish were poor tenants, and labouring husbandmen; but the souls of such, he used to say, are as precious as the souls of the rich, and to be looked after accordingly. His prayer for them was, "Lord, despise not the day of small things in this place, where there is some willingness, but much weakness." And thus he writes upon the Judge settling a handsome maintenance upon him:—"Lord, thou knowest, I seek not theirs, but them: give me the souls.——"

He was in labours more abundant to win souls; besides preaching, he expounded the scriptures in order, catechised and explained the catechism. At first he took into the number of his catechumens some that were adults, who, he found, wanted instruction; and when he had taken what pains he thought needful with them, he dismissed them from further attendance,

with commendation of their proficiency, and counsel to hold fast the form of sound words; and to be watchful against the sins of their age, to apply themselves to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and make ready for it; afterward he catechised none above seventeen or eighteen years of age.

He set up a monthly lecture there of two sermons, one he himself preached, and the other his friend Mr. Ambrose Lewis, of Wrexham, for some years. He also kept up a monthly conference in private from house to house, in which he met with the more judicious persons of the parish, and they discoursed familiarly together of the things of God, to their mutual edification, according to the example of the apostles, who, though they had the liberty of public places, yet taught also from house to house, (Acts v. 42; xx. 20.) That which induced him to set and keep up this exercise as long as he durst (which was till August 1660) was, that by this means he came better to understand the nature of his flock, and so knew better how to preach to them, and to pray for them, and they to pray one for another. If they were in doubt about any thing relating to their souls, that was an opportunity of getting satisfaction. It was likewise a means of increasing knowledge and love and other graces; and thus it abounded to a good account.

He was very industrious in visiting the sick, instructing them, and praying with them; and in this, he would say, he aimed to do good, not only to the sick, but also to their friends and relations that were about them.

He preached funeral sermons for all that were buried there, rich or poor, old or young, or little children; for he looked upon it as an opportunity of doing good. He called it, "setting-in the plough of the word, when the providence had prepared and softened the ground." He never took any money for that or any other ministerial performance, besides his

stated salary, for which he thought himself obliged to do his whole duty to them as a minister.

When he first administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper there, he did it with great solemnity. After he had endcavoured, in his public preaching, to instruct them in the nature of that ordinance, he discoursed personally with all that gave up their names to the Lord in it, concerning their knowledge, experience, and conversation, their obligation to observe the law of Christ, and concerning brotherly admonition in case of scandal; and gave notice to the congregation who they were that were admitted; adding this, 'Concerning these, and myself, I have two things to say, 1st. As to what is past we have sinned: if we should say we have not, we should deceive ourselves, and the truth were not in us; and yet this withal we can say, and have said it, some of us with tears, We have grieved that we have sinned. 2dly, For the time to come we are resolved, by God's grace, to walk in new obedience; and yet seeing we are not angels, but men and women encompassed with infirmities and temptations, it is possible we may fall; but if we do, it is our declared resolution to submit to admonition and eensure, according to the rule of the gospel.' He took care so to manage the admissions to that ordinance, that the weak might not be discouraged, nor the ordinance profaned. He would tell those whom he was necessitated to debar from the ordinance for ignorance, that if they were but truly willing, they might in a short time, by the blessing of God upon their diligent use of means, reading, prayer, and conference, get such a competent measure of knowledge, as to be able to discern the Lord's body. And those that had been scandalous, if they would but come and declare their repentance and resolutions of new obedience, they should be no longer excluded.

To give a specimen of his lively administrations of

that ordinance, let me transcribe the notes of his exhortation at the first sacrament that he ever administered, Nov. 27, 1659. I suppose they are but hints of what he enlarged more upon, for he had always a great fluency upon such occasions.

‘Dearly beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we are met together this day about the most solemn and weighty service under heaven; we are come to a feast, where the feast-maker is God the Father; the provision, God the Son, whose flesh is meat indeed, and whose blood is drink indeed; the guests, a company of poor sinners, unworthy such an honour; the crumbs under the table were too good for us, and yet we are permitted to taste the provision upon the table; and that which makes the feast is, a hearty welcome: God the Father bids you welcome, to the flesh and blood of his Son; think you hear him saying to you, O believing souls, “Eat, O friends, drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved.” The end of this feast is to keep in remembrance the death of Christ, and our deliverance by it, and thereby to convey spiritual nourishment and refreshment to our souls. But withal, give me leave to ask you one question, What appetite have you for this feast? Are you come hungering and thirsting? such have a promise, “they shall be filled.” He filleth the hungry with good things, but the rich are sent empty away; a honey-comb to a full soul is no honey-comb.—Canst thou say as Christ said, “With desire I have desired to eat this?” In this ordinance here is Christ and all his benefits exhibited to thee. Art thou weak? here is bread to strengthen thee. Art thou sad? here is wine to comfort thee. What is it thou standest in need of?—a pardon? here it is sealed with blood; ‘take it by faith, as I offer it to you in the name of the Lord Jesus: “though thy sins have been as scarlet, they shall be as wool, if thou be willing and obedient.”’ It may be, here are some, that have been drunkards,

swearers, scoffers at godliness, sabbath-breakers, and what not? and God hath put into your hearts to humble yourselves, to mourn for, and turn from, all your abominations; O come hither, here is forgiveness for thee. What else is it thou wantest? O (says the poor soul) I would have more of the Spirit of grace, more power against sin, especially my own iniquity; why, here it is for thee: from the fulness that is in Jesus Christ we receive, and grace for grace, John i. 16. We may say as David did, (Psalm cviii. 7, 8.) "God hath spoken in his holiness," and then "Gilead is mine, and Manasseh is mine." So God hath spoken in his word, sealed in his sacrament, and then Christ is mine, pardon is mine, grace is mine, comfort is mine, glory is mine; here I have his bond to shew for it. This is to those among you that have engaged their hearts to approach unto God this day.

' But if there be any come hither with a false, unbelieving, filthy, hard heart, I do warn you seriously, and with authority, in the name of Jesus Christ, presume not to come any nearer to this sacred ordinance; you that live in the practice of any sin, or the omission of any duty against your knowledge and conscience; you that have any malice or grudge to any of your neighbours, leave your gift and go your ways; be reconciled to God, be reconciled to your brother, and then come!—Better shame thyself for coming so near, then damn thyself by coming nearer. I testify to those who say they shall have peace, though they go on still in their trespasses, that there is poison in the bread; take it and eat it at your own peril; there is poison in the cup too, you drink your own damnation: I wash my hands from the guilt of your blood, look you to it. On the other hand, you poor penitent souls that are lost in yourselves, here is a Christ to save you: Come, "O come ye that are weary and heavy laden, &c."

His carriage towards the people of his parish was

very exemplary; condescending to the meanest, and conversing familiarly with them; bearing with the infirmities of the weak, and becoming all things to all men. He was exceedingly tender of giving offence, or occasion of grief to any; reminding himself in his diary upon such occasions, that the wisdom that is from above, is pure, and peaceable, and gentle, &c. Yet he plainly and faithfully reprov'd what he saw amiss in any, and would not suffer sin to pass unnoticed; mourning also for that which he could not mend. There were some untractable people in the parish, who sometimes caused grief to him, and exercised his boldness and zeal in reprov'g. Once hearing of a merry meeting at an ale-house on a Saturday night, he went himself and broke it up, and scattered them. At another time, he publicly witnessed against a frolic of some vain people, who on a Saturday night came to the church with a fiddle before them, and dressed it up with flowers and garlands, making it (as he told them) more like a play-house: and, was this their preparation for the Lord's day, and the duties of it? &c. He reminded them of Eccl. xi. 9. "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth: but know thou—"

Many out of the neighbouring parishes attended upon his ministry, and some came from far, though sometimes he signified his dislike of it; so far was he from glorying in it. But they who had spiritual senses exercised to discern things that differ, would attend upon that ministry, which they found to be most edifying.

He was about eight years labouring in the word and doctrine of Worthenbury, and his labour was not altogether vain: he saw in many the desire of his soul, to the rejoicing of his heart; but with this particular dispensation which I have heard him sometimes speak of, that most or all of those in that parish, whom he was, through grace, instrumental of good to, died before he left it, or quickly after: so that



within a few years after his removal, there were very few of the visible fruits of his ministry there. Yet the opportunity he found there of doing more good, by having those that were his charge near him, made him all his days bear his testimony to parish-order, where it may be had upon good terms. From his experience here, (though he would say, we must do what we can, when we cannot do what we would;) he often wished and prayed for the opening of a door, by which to return to that order again.

He had not been long at Worthenbury, when he began to be taken notice of by the neighbouring ministers, as likely to be a considerable man. Though his extraordinary modesty and humility, which even in his youth he was remarkable for, made him to sit down with silence in the lowest place, and to say as Elihu, "Days shall speak;" yet his eminent gifts and graces could not long be hid, and a person of his merits could not but meet with those quickly, who said, "Friend, go up higher;" and so that scripture was fulfilled, Luke xiv. 10. He was often called upon to preach the weekly lectures, which were set up plentifully, and diligently attended in those parts; and his labours were generally very acceptable and successful. The people gave him the title of "Heavenly Henry," by which he was commonly known all the country over. His advice was sought for by many neighbouring ministers and christians; for he was one of those that found favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man. He was noted at his first setting out, as I have been told by one who was intimately acquainted with him, and with his character and conversation, for three things: 1. Great piety and devotion, and a mighty savor of godliness in all his converse. 2. Great industry in the pursuit of useful knowledge; he was particularly observed to be very inquisitive when he was among the aged and intelligent, hearing them, and asking them questions:

a good example to young men, especially young ministers. 3. Great self-denial, self-diffidence, and self-abasement: this eminent humility put a lustre upon all his other graces. This character of him reminds me of a passage I have heard him relate, as a check to the forwardness and confidence of young men, that once, at a meeting of ministers, a question of moment was started, to be debated among them; upon the proposal of it, a confident young man shoots his bolt presently. "Truly, (said he) I hold it so."—"You hold, sir? (said a grave minister) it becomes *you* to hold your peace."

Besides his frequent preaching of the lectures about him, he was a constant and diligent attendant upon those within his reach; and not only wrote the sermons, but afterwards recorded in his diary, what in each sermon reached his heart; affected him, and did him good; adding some proper pious ejaculations, which were the breathings of his heart, when he meditated upon, and prayed over the sermons. What a wonderful degree of piety and humility doth it evidence, for one of so great acquaintance with the things of God, to write, This I learnt out of such a sermon; and this was the truth I applied to myself out of such a sermon; and indeed something out of every sermon. His diligent improvement of the word preached, contributed more than any one thing, as a means to his great attainments in knowledge and grace. He would say sometimes, that one great use of week-day lectures was, that it gave ministers an opportunity of hearing one another preach, by which they are likely to profit, which they hear not as masters, but as scholars; not as censors, but as learners.

His great friend and companion, and fellow-labourer in the work of the Lord, was the worthy Mr. R. Steel, of Hanmer. With him he joined frequently at Hanmer and elsewhere, in christian conference, and in days

of humiliation and prayer, besides their meetings with other ministers at public lectures; after which it was usual to spend some time among themselves in set disputations in Latin. Thus, in those days, ministers made it their business to provoke one another to love and to good works.

In the beginning of his days he often laboured under bodily distempers; it was feared that he was in a consumption; some blamed him for taking so much pains about his ministerial work, and urged him to husband his strength; but he often reflected upon it with comfort afterward, that he was not influenced by such suggestions. He would sometimes say, "The more we do, the more we MAY DO in the service of God." When his work was more than ordinary, and bore hard upon him, he thus appealed to God; "Thou knowest, Lord, how well contented I am to spend and be spent in thy service; and if the outward man decay, O, let the inward man be renewed." Upon the return of his indisposition he expresses a great concern how to get spiritual good by it; to come out of the furnace, and "leave some dross behind;" for "it is a great loss to lose an affliction." He mentions it as that which he hoped did him good, that he was ready to look upon every return of distemper, "as a summons to the grave;" thus he learned to die daily. "I find," says he, "my earthly tabernacle tottering; and when it is taken down, I shall have a building in heaven, that shall never fail. Blessed be God the Father, and my Lord Jesus Christ, and the good Spirit of grace. Even so. Amen." This was both his strength and his song, under his bodily infirmities.

While he was at Wortbenbury, he constantly laid by the tenth of his income for the poor, which he carefully and faithfully disposed of, in the liberal things which he devised, especially teaching poor children. And he recommended it as a good rule to lay *by* for charity, in proportion to the circumstances,

as it will then be easier to lay *out* in charity; we shall be more apt to seek for opportunities of doing good, when we have money lying by us, of which we have said, "This is not our own, but the poor's." To encourage himself and others to works of charity, he would say, "He is no fool, who parts with that which he cannot keep, when he is sure to be recompensed with that which he cannot lose." And yet to exclude all boasting of alms, he often expressed himself in those words of David, "Of thine own, Lord, have we given thee."

In the year 1658, the ministers of that neighbourhood, enlarged their correspondence with the ministers of North-Wales; and they had several meetings at Ruthin, and other places, that year, for the settling of a correspondence, and the promoting of unity, love, and good understanding among themselves, by entering into an association, like those some years before of Worcestershire and Cumberland, which, having been published, they made their pattern. They appointed particular associations; and, notwithstanding some of them were in their judgments episcopal, others congregational, and others classical, they agreed to lay aside the thoughts of matters in variance, that with one consent they might study, in their respective places, to promote the common interest of Christ's kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls. He observed that this year, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, there was generally throughout the nation a great change in the temper of God's people, and a strong tendency towards peace and unity; as if they were by consent weary of their long clashings. In his diary he expresses his great rejoicing in this, and his hope that the time was at hand, when "Judah should no longer vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim envy Judah, neither should they learn war any more." Though these hopes were soon disappointed by a change of the scene, yet he would often

speaking of the experience of that and the following year in those parts, as a specimen of what may yet be expected, and therefore in faith prayed for, when the Spirit shall be poured out upon us from on high. But alas ! “ Who shall live when God doth this ? ” From that experience he likewise gathered this observation, that “ it is not so much our difference of opinion that doth us the mischief, as the mismanagement of that difference.”

In the association of the ministers, it was referred to Mr. Henry to draw up that part of agreement which concerned the worship of God, which task he performed to their satisfaction. His preface to it begins thus : ‘ Though the main of our desires and endeavours be after unity in the greater things of God ; yet we judge uniformity in the circumstances of worship, a thing not to be altogether neglected by us ; not only in regard of that influence, which external visible order hath upon the beauty and comeliness of the churches of Christ ; but also, as it hath a direct tendency both to strengthen our hands in ministerial services, and to remove those prejudices which many have conceived even against religion and worship itself. We bless God from our very souls, for that whereunto we have already attained ; and yet we hope something further may be done, in reference to our closer walking by the same rule, and minding the same things. The word of God is the rule which we desire and resolve to walk by in the administration of ordinances ; and for those things wherein the word is silent, we think we may and ought to have recourse to christian prudence, and the practice of the reformed churches, agreeing with the general rules of the word.’

These agreements of theirs were the more likely to be for good, since here, as in Worcestershire, when they were in agitation, the ministers set apart a day of fasting and prayer among themselves to bewail

ministerial neglects, and to seek of God direction and success in their ministerial work. They met sometimes for this purpose at Mr. Henry's house, at Worthenbury.

One passage may not improperly be inserted here ; that once, at a meeting of the ministers, being desired to subscribe a certificate concerning one whom he had not sufficient acquaintance with, he refused ; giving this reason, "that he preferred the peace of his conscience before the friendship of all the men in the world."

Sept. 29, 1658, the lady Puleston died. "She was (said he) the best friend I had on earth ; but my Friend in heaven is still where he was, and he will never leave me nor forsake me." He preached her funeral sermon from Isa. ii. 22, "Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils." He has noted this expression of hers not long before she died, "My soul leans to Jesus Christ ; lean to me, sweet Saviour." About this time he writes, "A dark cloud is over my concerns in this family ; but my desire is, that whatever becomes of me and my interest, the interest of Christ may still be kept on foot in this place. Amen, so be it." But he adds soon after, that saying of Athanasius, which he was used often to quote and take comfort from : "It is a little cloud, and will soon blow over."

About a year after, Sept. 5, 1659, Judge Puleston died, and all Mr. Henry's interest in the Emeral-family was buried in his grave. He preached the Judge's funeral sermon from Neh. xiii. 14. "Wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the officers thereof ;" the design of which was not to applaud his deceased friend ; I find not a word in the sermon to that purpose : but he took occasion from the instance of so great a benefactor to the ministry, as the Judge was, to shew that deeds done for the house of God and the offices thereof,



are good deeds and to press people according to their ability and opportunity, to do such deeds. One passage in that sermon ought to be recorded; That it had been for several years the practice of a worthy gentleman in the neighbouring county, in renewing his leases, instead of making it a condition that his tenants should keep a hawk or a dog for him, to oblige them that they should keep a bible in their houses for themselves, and should bring up their children to learn to read and be catechised. This, said he, would be no charge to you, and it might oblige them to that, which otherwise they would neglect. "Some wished," says he in his diary, "that I had chosen some other subject for that sermon; but I approved myself to God; and if I seek to please men, I am not the servant of Christ." What personal affronts he received from some of the branches of that family at that time, need not be mentioned; but with what exemplary patience he bore them, ought not to be forgotten.

In March, 1658-9, he was very much solicited to leave Worthenbury, and accept the vicarage of Wrexham, which was a place that he had both a great interest in, and a great kindness for; but as he could not see his call clear from Worthenbury, he declined it. The same year he had an offer made him of a considerable living near London, but he did not consult with flesh and blood, nor seek great things for himself.

He was a hearty well-wisher to the return of the King, the spring following, in 1660, and much affected with the mercy of it. "While others rejoice carnally," said he, "Lord, help thy people to rejoice spiritually, in our public national mercies." It was upon that occasion that Mr. Baxter preached his sermon of "Right rejoicing," on Luke x. 20. But he and others soon saw cause to rejoice with trembling, and to sing both of mercy and judgment; for

about that time he has this melancholy remark, "Religion loses ground exceedingly, and profaneness gets it. Help, Lord!" However, he was very industrious to quiet the minds of some who were very uneasy at that great revolution; and that scripture yielded him much satisfaction, John iii. 35. "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand." If Christ be not only Head of the church, but Head over all things to the church, we may be assured, that all things shall be made to work together for good to it. The text also, which the Lord put into his heart to preach upon, on the day of public thanksgiving for the king's restoration, was very comfortable to him: "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord." (Prov. xxi. 1.) His sense of that great mercy of God to the nation, in the unbloody, peaceable, and legal settlement of King Charles II. upon the throne, was the same with that of multitudes, both ministers and others who were of the quiet in the land, who yet not long after suffered very hard things under him. Soon after the return of the King, he notes, how industrious some were to remove him from Worthenbury; on which he writes this, as the breathing of his soul towards God, "Lord, if it please thee, fasten me here as a nail in a sure place; if otherwise, I will take nothing ill which thou doest with me." When pressed by his friends more earnestly than before to accept of some other place; "Lord, (said he) mine eye is up unto thee; I am wholly at thy disposal; make my way plain before my face, because of mine enemies; my resolution is, to deny myself if thou callest me. Here, or any where, 'tis no great matter where I am."

There are two things further which I think it may be of use to give some account of in the close of this chapter. 1. Of the course of his ministry at Worthenbury; and 2. Of the state of his soul, and the communion he had with God in those years.

As to the subjects he preached upon, he did not use to dwell long upon a text. He would sometimes say, "Better one sermon upon many texts, that is, many scriptures opened and applied, than many sermons upon one text."

He used to preach in a fixed method, and linked his subjects in a sort of chain. He adapted his method and style to the capacities of his hearers, fetching his similitudes for illustration, from those things which were familiar to them. He did not shoot the arrow of the word over their heads in high notions, or the flourishes of affected rhetoric; nor under their feet by blunt and homely expressions; but to their hearts in close and lively applications. His delivery was very graceful and agreeable, neither noisy and precipitate on the one hand, nor dull and slow on the other. His doctrine dropped as the dew, and distilled as the soaking rain, and came with a charming pleasing power, such as many bore witness to, that have wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.

When he went to Oxford, and preached before the university in Christ's-Church, as he did several times, his labours were very acceptable, and successful; particularly one sermon which he preached on Prov. xiv. 9. "Fools make a mock at sin;" for which, a young Master of Arts came to his chamber afterwards to return him thanks, and to acknowledge the good impressions, which divine grace, by that sermon, had made upon his soul, which he hoped he should never forget.

In his diary he frequently records the frame of his spirit in studying and preaching. Sometimes blessing God for signal help vouchsafed, and owning him the "Lord God of all his enlargements;" at other times, complaining of great deadness and straitness. "It is a wonder, (says he,) that I can speak of eternal things, with so little a sense of the reality of them. Lord,

strengthen that which remains, which is ready to die." And he once writes thus upon a studying day; "I forgot explicitly and expressly to crave help from God when I began, and the chariot-wheels drove accordingly. Lord, forgive my omissions, and keep me in the way of duty.

As to the state of his soul in these years, it should seem by his diary, that he was exercised with some doubts and fears concerning it. "I think, (says he,) never did any poor creature pass through such a mixture of hope and fear, joy and sadness, assurance and doubting, down and up, as I have done these years past." The notice of this may be of use to drooping christians, that they may know their case is not singular; and that if God, for a small moment, hide his face from them, he deals with them no otherwise than as he useth sometimes to deal with the dearest of his servants. It is affecting to hear a person that lived a life of communion with God, complaining of great straitness in prayer. He says, "No life at all in the duty; many wanderings: if my prayers were written down, and my vain thoughts interlined, what incoherent nonsense would there be! I am ashamed, Lord; I am ashamed, O pity, and pardon." He suspected the workings of pride, when he gave an account to a friend who enquired of him, concerning the success of his ministry, and he recorded it, with this ejaculation annexed, "The Lord pardon and subdue." This was a sign that he kept a very watchful eye upon the motions of his own heart.

He charges it upon himself in his diary, that he was present at a duty in the midst of many distractions, not tasting sweetness in it, &c. "When a fire is first kindled, (says he,) there is a deal of smoke and smother, that afterwards wears away; in young converts, there is much peevishness, forwardness, darkness: so it hath been with my soul, and so it is yet in a great measure. Lord, pity, and do not quench the smoking

flax; though as yet it do but smoke, let these sparks be blown up into a flame." He adds "Great mercies, but poor returns; signal opportunities, but small improvements." Such are his frequent complaints of himself. And, though few or none excelled him in profitable discourse, yet, in that, he often bewails his barrenness, and unprofitableness, saying, "Little good done or got such a day for want of a heart; 'tis my sin and my shame. O that I had wings like a dove."

Yet, when he wanted a faith of assurance, he lived by a faith of adherence. "Such a day (says he) a full resignation was made of all my concerns, into the hands of my heavenly Father; let him deal with me as seemeth good in his eyes; I am learning and labouring to live by faith; Lord, help my unbelief." Another time he notes, that many perplexing fears being upon his spirit, they were all silenced by that sweet word, which was seasonably brought to his remembrance, "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer."

He very frequently kept days of fasting and humiliation in secret. Sometimes he observed these monthly, and sometimes only upon special occasions; but the memorandums in his diary, not only while he was at Worthenbury, but often afterwards, shew what sweet communion he had with God in those solemn duties, which no eye can witness, but his "who seeth in secret," and will "reward openly." He writes "Remember, O my soul, such a day, as a day of more than ordinary engagements entered into, and strong resolutions taken up for closer walking, and more watchfulness. O my God, undertake for me." And upon another of those days he notes, "If sowing in tears be so sweet, what then will the harvest be, when I shall reap in joy? Bless the Lord, O my soul, who forgiveth all thine iniquities, and will in due time heal all thy diseases."

## CHAP. IV.

*His Marriage, Family, Family-Religion, and the Education of his Children.*

HE removed from Emeral, to the house in Worthenbury, which the Judge had built for him, in February, 1658-9, and then had one of his sisters with him to keep his house. No sooner had he a tent, but God had an altar in it. There he set up repetition on Sabbath-evenings, and welcomed his neighbours to it. His christian friends often, and sometimes his brethren in the ministry, kept days of fasting and prayer at his house. He used to tell people when they had built new houses, they must dedicate them; referring to Deut. xx. 5; and the title of Psalm xxx; that is, they must invite God to their houses, and devote them to his service.

Providence having thus brought him into a house of his own, soon after provided a help-mate for him. After long agitation, and some discouragement and opposition from the father, April 26, 1660, he married Katherine, the only daughter and heiress of Mr. Samuel Matthews, of Broad-oak, in the township of Iscoyd, in Flintshire. Mr. Matthews was a gentleman of a very competent estate; such a one as King James the First used to say, was the happiest lot of all others, which set a man below the office of a justice of peace, and above that of a petty constable. This was his only child: very fair and honourable overtures had been made for her disposal; but it pleased God so to order events, and to over-rule the spirits of those concerned, that she was reserved to be a blessing to this good man, in things pertaining "both to life and godliness."

The day before his marriage, he kept as a day of secret prayer and fasting. He used to say, Those who



would have comfort in that change of their condition, must see to it, that they bring none of the guilt of their single state into the married state. The presence of Christ at a wedding, will turn the water into wine; and he will come, if he be invited by prayer.

He took all occasions while he lived, to express his thankfulness to God, for the great comfort he had in this relation. "A day of mercy (so he writes on his marriage-day) never to be forgotten." "God had given him one (as he writes afterwards) every way his helper, in whom he had much comfort, and for whom he thanked God with all his heart." He writes in his diary, "April 26, 1680—This day we have been married twenty years, in which time we have received of the Lord more than twenty thousand mercies; to God be glory." His usual prayer for his friends in the married state, was according to his own practice, that they might be "mutually serviceable to each other's faith and holiness, and jointly serviceable to God's honour and glory."

Her father, though he put some hardships upon him in the terms, and had been somewhat averse to the match, yet, by Mr. Henry's great prudence, and God's good providence, was influenced to give a free consent to it; and with his own hand to give her in marriage. From this, as from other experiences, Mr. Henry had learned to say with assurance, "It is not in vain to wait upon God and keep his way." Mr. Matthews settled part of his estate before marriage upon them and their heirs; he lived about seven years after; and when he died, the remainder came to them. This competent estate, which Providence brought into his hand, was not only a comfortable support to him when he was turned out of his living, and when many faithful ministers of Christ were reduced to great poverty and straits; but it enabled him likewise, as he had opportunity, to preach the gospel freely, which he did to his dying day; and also to give for the relief of the

needy, in which he sowed plentifully, to a very large proportion of his income. He often blessed God that he had wherewith to do this : remembering the words of the Lord, how he said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

Such was his house, and such the vine which God graciously planted by the side of his house. By her God gave him six children, all born within less than eight years ; the two eldest, sons, John and Matthew : the other four, daughters, Sarah, Katherine, Eleanor, and Ann. His eldest son John died of the measles, in the sixth year of his age ; and the rest were in mercy spared to him.

The Lord having built him up into a family, he was careful and faithful in making good his solemn vow at his ordination, that "he and his house would serve the Lord." He would often say, "We are that really, which we are relatively. It is not so much what we are at church, as what we are in our families. Religion in the power of it will be family religion." In that his practice was very exemplary ; he was one that walked before his house in a perfect way, with a perfect heart, and therein behaved himself wisely. His constant care and prudent endeavour was, not only to put iniquity far from his tabernacle, but that where he dwelt, the word of Christ might dwell richly. If he might have no other church, yet he had a "church in his house."

He made conscience of closet-worship, and abounded in it, not making his family-worship an excuse for the omission of that. He has this affecting note in his diary, upon the removing of his closet, but from one room to another : "This day my new closet was consecrated, if I may say so, with this prayer :—"That all the prayers that ever should be made in it, according to the will of God, morning, evening, and at noon, ordinary or extraordinary, might be accepted of God, and obtain a gracious answer. Amen and amen."—It was the caution and advice which he frequently

gave to his children and friends ; “ Be sure you look to your secret duty ; keep that up whatever you do ; the soul cannot prosper in the neglect of it.” He observed, that “ apostacy generally begins at the closet-door. Secret prayer is first neglected, and carelessly performed, then frequently omitted, and after awhile wholly cast off ; and then farewell God and Christ and all religion.” He also advised, that secret duty be performed secretly, which was the admonition he gave to those who were imprudently loud in that duty.

Besides this, he and his wife constantly prayed together morning and evening ; and if they were together, at home or abroad, it was never intermitted. From his own experience of the benefit of this practice, he would take all opportunities to recommend it to those in that relation, as conducing very much to the comfort of it, and to their furtherance in that, which he would say, is their great duty ; to “ do all they can to help one another to heaven.” He would say, that this duty of husbands and wives, praying together, is intimated in that of the apostle, 1 Pet. iii. 7. where they are exhorted to “ live as heirs together of the grace of life, that their prayers, (especially their prayers together,) be not hindered ;” that nothing may be done to hinder them from praying together, nor to hinder them in it, nor to spoil the success of those prayers. This sanctifies the relation, and fetches in a blessing upon it ; makes the comforts of it the more sweet, and the cares and crosses of it the more easy ; and is an excellent means of preserving and increasing mutual love. Many to whom he has recommended his duty, have blessed God for him, and for his advice concerning it. When he was abroad and slept with any of his friends, he would remind them of his rule, that “ they who sleep together must pray together.” In the performance of this part of his daily worship he was usually short, but often much affected.

Besides these, he made conscience, and made a business of family-worship in all the parts of it ;

and in it he was uniform, steady, and constant, from the time that he was first called to the charge of a family, to his dying day; and according to his own practice, he took all occasions to press it upon others. His doctrine once from Josh. xxiv. 15, was, that "family-worship is family-duty." He would say sometimes, "if the worship of God be not in the house, write 'Lord have mercy upon us' upon the door, for there is a plague, a curse in it."\* It is the opinion of Archbishop Tillotson, that "constant family-worship is so necessary to keep alive a sense of God and religion in the minds of men, that he sees not how any family that neglects it can in reason be esteemed a family of christians, or indeed to have any religion at all." How earnestly would Mr. Henry reason with people about this matter, and tell them what a blessing it would bring upon them, their houses, and all that they had. He that makes his house a little church, shall find, that God will make it a little sanctuary. It may be of use to give a particular account of this practice in this matter, because it was very exemplary. As to the time of it, his rule was, commonly the earlier the better, both morning and evening; in the morning, before worldly business crowded in, "Early will I seek thee:" he that is the First should have the first; nor is it fit that the worship of God should stand by and wait, while the world's turn is served. And, early in the evening, before the children and servants began to be sleepy; and therefore, if it might be, he would have prayer before supper, that the body might be the more fit to serve the soul in that service of God. And indeed, he industriously contrived all the circumstances of his family-worship, so as to

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\* It was customary to write "Lord have mercy upon us" on the doors of houses, when the family was infected with plague.—EDITOR.

make it most solemn, and most likely to answer the end. He always made it the business of every day, and not, as too many make it, a by-business. This being his fixed principle, all other affairs gave way to this. When some objected, that they could not get time for family-worship; he would tell them, that if they would put on christian resolution at first, they would not find the difficulty so great as they imagined; but after awhile, their other affairs would fall in easily and naturally with this; especially where there is that wisdom which is profitable to direct. Nay, they would find it to be a great preserver of order and decency in a family, and it would be like a hem to all their other business, to keep it from ravelling. He was ever careful to have all his family present at family-worship; though sometimes, living in the country, he had a great household; yet he would have not only his children, sojourners, and domestic servants, but his workmen, day-labourers, and all that were employed for him, if they were within call, to be present, to join with him in this service. As it was often an act of his charity to set them to work for him, so to that he added this act of piety, to set them to work for God; and usually when he paid them their wages, he gave them some good counsel about their souls. If any that should come to family-worship were at a distance, and must be staid for long, he would rather want them, than put the duty much out of time; and would sometimes say at night, "Better one away than all sleepy."

The performances of his family-worship were the same morning and evening. He observed that under the law, the morning and the evening lamb had the same meat-offering and drink-offering, *Exod. xxix. 38—41*. He always began with a short, but very solemn prayer, imploring the divine presence, assistance, and acceptance; particularly begging a blessing upon the word to be read, in reference to which

he often put up this petition, "That the same Spirit who indited the Scripture, would enable us to understand it, and to learn something out of it, that may do us good." He commonly concluded even this short prayer, as he did also his blessings before and after meat, with a doxology, as Paul upon all occasions, "To him be glory, &c." which is properly adoration, and is an essential part of prayer.

He next sang a Psalm, and commonly one of David's: and his usual way was to sing a whole Psalm throughout, though perhaps a long one, and to sing quick, yet with a good variety of proper and pleasant tunes: and that he might do so, usually the Psalm was sung without reading the lines, every one in the family having a book. He preferred this to the common way of singing, where it might conveniently be done, as more agreeable to the practice of the primitive church, and the reformed churches abroad; and by this means he thought the duty more likely to be performed "in the Spirit and with the understanding;" the sense being not so broken, nor the affections so interrupted, as in reading the lines. He would say, that a Scripture-ground for singing Psalms in families, might be taken from Psalm cxviii. 15. "The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacle of the righteous."

He next read a portion of Scripture, taking the bible in order; and would sometimes blame those who only pray with their families, and do not read the Scripture. In prayer we speak to God; by the word he speaks to us. In the tabernacle the priests were every day to burn incense, and to light the lamps; the former representing the duty of prayer, the latter reading the word. Sometimes he would say, "Those do well that pray morning and evening in their families; those do better that pray and read the Scriptures; but those do best of all



that pray and read and sing psalms: and christians should covet earnestly the best gifts."

He advised reading the scripture in order: saying, "Wherever God has a mouth to speak, we should have an ear to hear; and the diligent searcher may find much excellent matter in those parts of scripture, which we are sometimes tempted to think might have been spared.

What he read in the family he always expounded, and exhorted all ministers to do so, as an excellent means of increasing their acquaintance with the scripture. His expositions were not so much critical, as plain, practical, and useful; and such as tended to answer the end for which the scriptures were written, which is to make us wise to salvation. Herein he had a peculiar excellence, performing that daily exercise with so much judgment, and at the same time with such facility and clearness, as if every exposition had been premeditated; and they were very instructive, as well as affecting to the auditors. His observations were many times very striking and uncommon. He generally reduced the passage read, to some heads, by such a distribution as the matter easily fell into. He often mentioned that saying of Tertullian, "I adore the fulness of the scriptures." When he had hit upon a useful observation that was new to him, he would sometimes say afterwards to those about him; "How often have I read this chapter, and never before now took notice of such a thing in it." He put his children to write these expositions; and when they were gone from him, the strangers that sojourned with him did the same. What collections his children had, though but broken and imperfect hints, were afterwards of use to them and their families. Some exposition of this nature, that is, plain and practical, and helping to raise the affections and guide the conversation by

the word, he often wished was published by some good hand, for the benefit of families. But such was his great modesty and self-diffidence, though few were more fit for it, that he would never be persuaded to attempt any thing of that kind himself.\* As an evidence how much his heart was set upon having the word of God read and understood in families, take this passage out of his last will: "I give and bequeath to each of my four daughters Mr. Pool's English Annotations upon the Bible, in two volumes, of the last and best edition that shall be to be had at the time of my decease; together with Mr. Barton's last and best Translation of the Singing Psalms, one to each of them; requiring and requesting them to make daily use of the same, for the instruction, edification, and comfort of themselves and their families." But it is time we proceed to the method of his family-worship.

The chapter or psalm being read and expounded, he required from his children some account of what they could remember of it; and sometimes would discourse with them plainly and familiarly about it, that he might lead them into an acquaintance with it; and, if it might be, impress something of it upon their hearts.

He then prayed, and always kneeling, which he looked upon as the fittest and most proper posture for prayer; and he took care that his family should address themselves to the duty, with the outward expressions of reverence and composedness. He usually fetched his matter and expressions in prayer, from the chapter read, and the psalm sung, which was often very affecting, and helped much to excite

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\* This his wish was fulfilled to the utmost by his son Matthew Henry, in his well-known and excellent Expositions of the Bible.

praying graces. He sometimes observed in those psalms, where reference is had to the scripture-stories, as Psalm lxxxiii. and many others, that those who were well acquainted with the scriptures, would not need to make use of the help of "prescribed forms:" they are very necessary for those that cannot pray without them, but are unbecoming those that can; as a go-cart, he used to say, is needful to a child, or crutches to one that is lame, but neither of them agreeable to one that needs them not. In family-prayer he was usually most full in giving thanks for family-mercies, confessing family-sins, and begging family-blessings. He would sometimes be very particular in prayer for his family; if any were absent, they were sure to have an express petition put up for them. He used to observe, concerning Job, chap. i. 5, that he offered burnt-offerings for his children, "according to the number of them all," an offering for each child. He always observed at the annual return of the birth-day of each, to bless God for his mercy to him and his wife in that child; the giving of it, the comfort they had in it, &c. with some special request to God for it. Every servant and sojourner, at their coming into his family and going out, besides the daily remembrances of them, had a particular petition put up for them, according as their circumstances were. The strangers that were at any time within his gates, he was wont particularly to recommend to God in prayer, with much affection and christian concern for them and their affairs. He was daily mindful of those that desired their prayers for them, and would say sometimes, "It is a great comfort that God knows whom we mean in prayer, though we do not name them." Particular providences concerning the country, as to health or sickness, good or bad weather, or the like, he commonly took notice of in prayer, as there was

occasion, and would often beg of God to fit us for the next providence, whatever it might be. Nor did he ever forget to pray for the peace of Jerusalem. He always concluded family-prayer, both morning and evening, with a solemn benediction, after the doxology: "The blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be with us, &c." Thus did he daily "bless his household."

Immediately after the prayer was ended, his children together, with bended knees, asked a blessing of him and their mother; that is, desired them to pray to God to bless them: which blessing was given with great solemnity and affection; and if any of them were absent, they were remembered, "The Lord help you and your brother," or, "you and your sister that is absent."

This was his daily worship, which he never altered, unless as is after mentioned, though he went from home ever so early, or returned ever so late, or had ever so much business for his servants to do. He would say, that sometimes he saw cause to shorten the several parts; but he would never omit any of them; for if an excuse be admitted for an omission, it will be often returning. He was not willing, unless the necessity was urgent, that any should go from his house in a morning before family-worship; but upon such an occasion would remind his friends, that "prayer and provender never hinder a journey."

He managed his daily family-worship, so as to make it a pleasure and not a task to his children and servants; for he was seldom long, and never tedious in the service; the variety of the duties made it the more pleasant; so that none who joined with him had ever any reason to say, What a weariness is it! Such an excellent way he had of rendering religion the most sweet and amiable employment in the world; and so careful was he, like Jacob, "to drive, as the children could go," not putting "new wine into old

bottles." If some good people that mean well would do likewise, it might prevent many of those prejudices, which young persons are apt to conceive against religion, when the services of it are made a toil and a terror to them.

On Thursday evenings, (instead of reading,) he catechised his children and servants. On Saturday evenings, his children and servants gave him an account what they could remember of chapters expounded the week before, in order; each a several part, helping one another's memories for recollecting it. This he called "gathering up the fragments which remained, that nothing might be lost." He would say to them sometimes, as Christ to his disciples, "Have ye understood all these things?" If not, he explained them more fully. This exercise, which he constantly kept up, was both delightful and profitable, and being managed by him with much prudence and sweetness, helped to instil betimes into those about him, the knowledge and love of the holy scriptures.

When he had sojourners in the family, who were able to bear a part in such a service, he had commonly in the winter-time set weekly conferences on questions proposed, for their mutual edification and comfort in the fear of God; the substance of what was said, he himself took and kept an account of in writing.

But the Lord's day he called and counted the queen of days, the pearl of the week, and observed it accordingly. The fourth commandment intimates a special regard to be had to the Sabbath in families, "Thou, and thy son, and thy daughter," &c. It is "the Sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings." In this, therefore, he was very exact, and abounded in the work of the Lord in his family on that day. Whatever were his public opportunities, which varied, as we shall find afterwards, his family religion on

that day was the same. Extraordinary sacrifices must never supersede the "continual burnt-offering, and its meat-offering." (Numb. xxviii. 15.) His common salutation of his family or friends, on the Lord's-day morning was that of the primitive christians: "The Lord is risen, he is risen indeed;" making it his chief business on that day to celebrate the memory of Christ's resurrection; and he would say, sometimes, "every Lord's day is a true christian's Easter-day." He took care to have his family ready early on that day, and was then larger in exposition and prayer, than on other days. He would often remember, that under the law the daily sacrifice was doubled on Sabbath-days, two lambs in the morning, and two in the evening. He had always a particular subject for his exposition on Sabbath-mornings; as the harmony of the Evangelists several times over; the Scripture-prayers; Old Testament prophecies of Christ. He constantly sung a psalm after dinner, and another after supper, on the Lord's-day. And in the evening, his children and servants were catechised and examined in the sense and meaning of the answers in the catechism, that they might not say it (as he used to tell them) like a parrot, by rote. Then the day's sermons were repeated, commonly by one of his children when they were grown up, and the family gave an account what they could remember of the word of the day, which he endeavoured to fasten upon them, as a nail in a sure place. In his prayers on the evening of the Sabbath, he was often more than ordinarily enlarged; as one that found not only God's service perfect freedom, but his work its own wages; and a great reward, not only *after* keeping, but (as he used to observe from Psalm xix. 11.) *in* keeping God's commandments; a present reward of obedience in obedience. In that prayer he was usually very particular, in praying for his family, and all that



belonged to it. It was a prayer he often put up, that they might have grace to behave "as a minister, and a minister's wife, and a minister's children, and a minister's servants should behave, that the ministry might in nothing be blamed." He would sometimes, especially on Sabbath-evenings, be a particular intercessor for the towns and parishes adjacent; for Chester, Shrewsbury, Nantwich, Wrexham, Whitchurch, &c. those nests of souls, wherein there are so many, that cannot discern between their right hand and their left in spiritual things, &c. He closed his Sabbath-work in his family with singing Psalm cxxxiv, and after it, a solemn blessing of his household.

Thus was he prophet and priest in his own house; and he was king there too, ruling in the fear of God, and not suffering sin upon any under his roof. But many of his servants, by the blessing of God upon his endeavours, got those good impressions upon their souls, which they retained ever after; and blessed God with all their hearts, that ever they came under his roof. Few went from his service till they were married, and some after they had buried their yoke-fellows, returned to it again, saying, "Master, it is good to be here."

He brought up his children in the fear of God, with a great deal of care and tenderness; and did by his practice, as well as upon all occasions in discourses, condemn the indiscretion of those parents, who are partial in their affection to their children, making a difference between them. He observed that this often proved of ill consequence in families; and laid a foundation of envy, contempt, and discord, which turn to their shame and ruin. His carriage towards his children was very mild and gentle, as one who desired rather to be loved than feared by them. He was careful not to provoke them to wrath, nor to discourage them, as he was to

“bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.” He ruled indeed, and kept up his authority, but it was with wisdom and love, and not with a high hand. He allowed his children a great degree of freedom with him, which gave him the opportunity of reasoning them, not frightening them, into that which is good. He did much towards the instruction of his children in the way of familiar discourse, according to that excellent directory for religious education, (Deut. vi. 7.) “Thou shalt whet these things, (so the word is, which he said noted frequent repetition of the same things) upon thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, &c.” which made them love home, and delight in his company, and greatly endeared religion to them.

He endeavoured to make the whole word of God familiar to them, especially the stories of Scripture, and to bring them to understand and love it, and then they would easily remember it. He used to observe from Psalm cxix. 93, “I will never forget thy precepts, for with them thou hast quickened me;” that we are then likely to remember the word of God, when it doth us good.

He was careful to bring his children betimes (when they were about sixteen years of age) to the ordinance of the Lord’s Supper, to “take the covenant of God upon themselves, and make their dedication to God their own act and deed;” and a great deal of pains he took with them, to prepare them for that great ordinance.

He not only taught his children betimes to pray, which he did especially by his own pattern, his method and expression in prayer being very easy and plain, but when they were young he put them upon praying together, and appointed them, and such of their age, as might occasionally be with them, to spend some time together on Saturdays in the afternoon, in reading good books, especially those for

children, and in singing and praying. He would sometimes tell them for their encouragement, that the God with whom we have to do, understands broken language; and if we do as well as we can in the sincerity of our hearts, we shall not only be accepted, but taught to do better: "To him that hath shall be given."

He sometimes set his children, in their reading the scriptures, to gather out such passages as they took most notice of, and thought most considerable, and write them down: though this performance was very small, yet the endeavour was of great use. He also directed them to insert in a book, which each of them had for the purpose, remarkable sayings, and stories, which they met with in reading such other good books as he put into their hands.

He took a pleasure in relating to them the remarkable providences of God, both in "his own time and in the days of old," which he said parents were taught to do by that appointment, (Exod. 26, 27.) "your children shall ask you in time to come, what mean you by this service?" and you shall tell them so and so.

What his pious care was concerning his children, and with what a godly jealousy he was jealous over them, take in one instance: when they had been for a week or fortnight kindly entertained at Boreatton, as they often were, he thus writes in his diary upon their return home, "My care and fear is, lest converse with such so far above them, though of the best, should lift them up, when I had rather they should be kept low." For he was very solicitous to teach his children, not to mind high things, not to desire them, not to expect them in this world, which was his own character.

We shall conclude this Chapter with another passage out of his diary, April 12, 1681. "This my fourteen years the Lord took my first-born son

from me, the beginning of my strength, with a stroke. In remembrance whereof my heart melted this evening; I begged pardon for the Jonah that raised that storm. I blessed the Lord that hath spared the rest. I begged mercy, mercy for every one of them, and absolutely and unreservedly devoted and dedicated them, myself, my whole-self, estate, interest, life, to the will and service of that God from whom I received all. Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, &c."

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## CHAP. V.

*His ejection from Worthenbury; his removal to Broad-Oak, and other events of the year 1672.*

WE must now return to our history, and shall look back to the first year after his marriage, which was 1660, the year that King Charles the Second came in; a year of great changes and struggles in the land. Many of his best friends in Worthenbury parish were lately removed by death; the Emeral-family contrary to what it had been; and the same spirit, which that year revived over all the nation, was working violently in that country, namely, a spirit of great enmity to such men as Mr. Henry was. Worthenbury, upon the King's coming in, returned to its former relation to Bangor, and was looked upon as a chapelry dependant upon that. Mr. Robert Fogg had for many years held the sequestered rectory of Bangor, but now Dr. Henry Bridgman, son to the Bishop of Chester, and brother to the Lord-keeper Bridgman, returned to the possession of it, by which Mr. Henry was soon apprehensive that his interest at Worthenbury

was shaken: but thus he writes, "The will of the Lord be done. Lord, if my work be done here, provide some other for this people that may be more skilful, and more successful, and cut out work for me elsewhere; however, I will take nothing ill which God doth with me."

He laboured what he could to make Dr. Bridgman his friend, who gave him good words, was very civil to him, and assured him that he would never remove him, till the law did. But he must look upon himself as the Doctor's Curate, and depending upon his will, which kept him in continual expectation of a removal; however, he continued in his liberty there above a year, though in very precarious circumstances.

The grand question now on foot was, whether to conform or not. He used all possible means to satisfy himself concerning it, by reading and discourse, particularly at Oxford, with Dr. Fell, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, but in vain; his dissatisfaction remained; however, says he, "I dare not judge those that do conform, for who am I that I should judge my brother?" He has noted, that being at Chester, in discourse with the Dean, Chancellor, and others, about this time, the great argument they used to persuade him to conform was, that else he would lose his preferment; and what, said they, you are a young man, and are you wiser than the King and Bishops? but this is his reflection upon it afterwards, "God grant I may never be left to consult with flesh and blood in such matters!"

In September, 1660, Mr. Fogg, Mr. Steele, and Mr. Henry were presented at Flint Assizes for not reading the Common Prayer, though as yet it was not enjoined; but there were some busy people, that would out-run the law. They entered their appearance, and it fell; for the King's "declaration touching ecclesiastical affairs" came out soon after, which promised liberty, and gave hopes of settlement; but

the Spring Assizes afterwards, Mr. Steele and Mr. Henry were presented again. On this he writes, "Be merciful to me, O God, for man would swallow me up. The Lord shew me what he would have me to do, for I am afraid of nothing but sin."

It appears by the hints of his diary that he had melancholy apprehensions at this time about public affairs, seeing and hearing of so many faithful ministers disturbed, silenced, and ensnared, the ways of Sion mourning, and the quiet in the land treated as the troublers of it: his soul wept in secret for it: yet he joined in the annual commemoration of the King's restoration, and preached on Mark xii. 17. "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," considering (says he) that it was his right: also the sad posture of the civil government through usurpers, and the manner of his coming in, without bloodshed. He would all his days speak of this as a national mercy, but what he rejoiced in with a great deal of trembling for the ark of God. He would sometimes say, "That during those years, between forty and sixty, though on civil accounts there were great disorders, and the foundations were out of course, yet in the matters of God's worship, things went well; there was freedom, and reformation, and a face of godliness was upon the nation, though there were those that made but a mask of it. Ordinances were administered in power and purity, and though there was much amiss, yet religion, at least in the profession of it, did prevail. This, says he, we know very well, let men say what they will of those times."

In November, 1660, he took the oath of allegiance at Orton, before Sir Thomas Hanmer, and two other Justices, of which he left a memorandum in his diary, with this added, "God so help me, as I purpose in my heart to do accordingly." Nor could



any one more conscientiously observe that oath of God than he did, nor more sincerely promote the ends of it.

His annuity from Emeral was now withheld, because he did not read the Common Prayer, though as yet there was no law for reading it: hereby he was disabled to do what he had been wont, for the help and relief of others; and this he recorded as that which troubled him most under that disappointment; but he blessed God, that he had a "heart to do good, even when his hand was empty." When the Emeral family was unkind to him, he reckoned it a great mercy, which he gave God thanks for, that Mr. Broughton and his family, who were of considerable figure in the parish, continued their kindness and respects to him, and their countenance of his ministry, which he makes a grateful mention of more than once in his diary.

Many attempts were made in the year 1661, to disturb and ensnare him, and it was still expected that he would have been hindered. "Methinks, says he, "Sabbaths were never so sweet as they are, now we are kept at such uncertainties; now, a day in thy courts is better than a thousand: such a day as this, said he, of a sacrament-day that year, is better than ten thousand; O that we might yet see many such days."

He was advised by Mr. Radcliff, of Chester, and others of his friends to enter an action against Mr. Puleston for his annuity, and did so; but "concerning the success of it," says he, "I am not over solicitous; for though it be my due, (Luke x. 7.) yet it was not that which I preached for: God knows, I would much rather preach for nothing than not at all; and besides, I know assuredly, if I should be cast, God will make it up to me some other way."

After some proceedings he solicited Mr. Puleston to refer it; having learned, says he, that it is no disparagement but an honor, for the party wronged, to be first in seeking reconciliation. "The Lord, if it be his will, incline his heart to peace. I have now," says he, "two great concerns upon the wheel; one, in reference to my claims for time past, the other, as to my continuance for the future; the Lord be my friend in both; but of the two, rather in the latter! but many of greater gifts and graces than I are laid aside already; and when my turn may come, I know not; the will of God be done; he can do his work without us."

The issue of this affair was, to discharge Philip Henry from the Chapel of Worthenbury. He preached his farewell sermon on Phil. i. 27. "Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ." In which (as he says in his diary) his desire and design was rather to profit than affect. It matters not what becomes of me, whether I come unto you, or else be absent, but "let your conversation be as becometh the gospel." His parting prayer for them was, "The Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation." Thus he ceased to preach to his people there, but not to love them, and pray for them; and could not but think there remained some dormant relation between him and them.

As to the arrears of his annuity from Mr. Puleston when he was displaced; after some time Mr. Puleston was willing to give him 100*l.* which was much less than what was due, upon condition that he would surrender his deed of annuity, and lease of the house this he for peace-sake was willing to do, and so lost the benefit of Judge Puleston's great kindness to him. This was not completed till September, 1662, until which time he continued in the house at Worthenbury, but never preached so much as once in the church, though there were vacancies several times.

Mr. Richard Hilton was immediately put into the curacy of Worthenbury by Dr. Bridgman. Mr. Henry went to hear him, as long as he continued at Worthenbury. He kept up his correspondence with Mr. Hilton : and, (as he says in his diary,) endeavoured to possess him with right thoughts of his work, and advised him the best he could in the soul-affairs of that people ; which, says he, “ he seemed to take well ; I am sure I meant it so, and the Lord make him faithful ! ”

Immediately after he was silenced and removed from Worthenbury, he was solicited to preach at Bangor, and Dr. Bridgman was willing to permit it occasionally ; and intimated to his curate there, that he should never hinder it ; but Mr. Henry declined it. Though his silence was his great grief, yet such was his tenderness, that he was not willing to discourage Mr. Hilton at Worthenbury, by drawing so many of the people from him, as would certainly have followed him to Bangor ; but (says he) “ I cannot get my heart into such a spiritual frame on sabbath-days now as formerly ; which is both my sin and my affliction. Lord, quicken me with quickening grace.”

When the King was restored, and shewed, as many thought, so good a temper, some of his friends were very earnest with him to revive his acquaintance and interest at court, which it was thought he might easily do. It was reported in the country, that the Duke of York had enquired after him ; but he heeded not the report, nor would he be persuaded to make any addresses that way. “ For,” says he, “ my friends do not know so well as I, the strength of temptation, and my own inability to deal with it. Lord, lead me not into temptation.”

He was greatly affected with the temptations and afflictions of many faithful ministers of Christ at this time, by the pressing of conformity ; and kept many private days of fasting and prayer in his own house, seeking to turn away the wrath of God from the land.

He greatly pitied some, who by the urgency of friends, and the fear of want, were over-persuaded to put a force upon themselves in their conformity. The Lord keep me, says he, in the critical time.

He preached occasionally in divers neighbouring places, till Bartholomew-day, 1662, the day, says he, "which our sins have made one of the saddest days to England, since the death of Edward the VIth ; but even this for good, though we know not how, nor which way." He was invited to preach at Bangor on the black Bartholomew-day, and prepared a sermon on John vii. 37. "In the last day, that great day of the feast," &c. but was prevented from preaching it; and was loath to strive against so strong a stream.

His moderation in his non-conformity was very exemplary and eminent, and had a great influence upon many, to keep them from running into an uncharitable and schismatical separation; which, upon all occasions, he bore his testimony against. In church-government, he desired and wished for archbishop Usher's reduction of episcopacy. He thought it lawful to join in the Common Prayer in public assemblies, and practised accordingly; and endeavoured to satisfy others concerning it. He was much afraid of extremes, and solicitous for nothing more than to maintain and promote christian love and charity among professors.

But to proceed in his story. At Michaelmas, 1662, he left Worthenbury, and came with his family to Broad-Oak. Being cast by divine Providence into this new place and state of life, his care and prayer was, that he might have "grace and wisdom to manage it to the glory of God, which (says he) is my chief end." Within three weeks after his coming hither, his second son was born, which we mention for the sake of his remark upon it; "We have no reason to call him Benoni, I wish we had none to call him Ichabod." And on the day of his family-thanksgiving for that mercy, he writes, "We have reason to rejoice

with trembling, for it goes ill with the church and people of God ; and reason to fear worse, because of our sins, and our enemies' wrath."

For several years after he settled at Broad-Oak, he and his family went constantly on Lord's-days to the public worship at Whitewell-chapel, which was near, when there was any supply there; and if none, then to Tylstock, where Mr. Zachary Thomas continued for about half a year, and that place was a little sanctuary: when that spring failed, he usually went to Whitchurch. He did not preach for a great while, unless occasionally, when he visited his friends, or to his own family on Lord's-days, when the weather hindered them from going abroad. He comforted himself, that sometimes, in going to public worship, he had an "opportunity of instructing and exhorting those that were in company with him by the way," according as he saw they had need; in this his lips fed many, and his tongue was as choice silver. He acted according to that rule which he often laid down to himself and others, that "when we cannot do what we would, we must do what we can, and the Lord will accept us in it." He made the best of the sermons he heard in public. "It is a mercy," says he, "we have bread, though it be not, as it hath been, of the finest wheat." Those are froward children who throw away the meat they have, if it be wholesome, because they have not what they would not have. When he met with preaching that was weak, his note is, "That is a poor sermon indeed, out of which no good lesson may be learned." He had often occasion to remember that verse of Mr. Herbert:

"The worst speak something good ; if all want sense,  
God takes the text, and preacheth patience."

Nay, and once he says, he could not avoid thinking of Eli's sons, who "made the sacrifices of the Lord to be abhorred ;" yet he went to bear his testimony to

public ordinances ; “ For still,” says he, “ the Lord loveth the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob ; and so do I.” Such, then, were his sentiments of things, expecting that God would yet open a door of return to former public liberty, which he much desired and prayed for. In hopes of that, he was unwilling to fall into the stated exercise of his ministry, as indeed the sober nonconformists in those parts generally were : but it was his grief and burden, that he had not an opportunity of doing more for God. He had but few opportunities of usefulness ; but he was very diligent and faithful to improve them. When he visited his friends, how did he lay himself out to do them good ! Being asked once, where he made a visit, to expound and pray, which his friends returned him thanks for, he thus writes upon it, “ They cannot thank me so much for my pains, but I thank them more, and my Lord God, especially, for the opportunity.” Read his conflict with himself at this time :— “ I own myself a minister of Christ, yet do nothing as a minister ; what will excuse me ? Is it enough for me to say, Behold, I stand in the market-place, and no man hath hired me ?” And he comforts himself with this appeal ; “ Lord, thou knowest what will I have to thy work, public or private, if I had a call and opportunity ; and shall this willing mind be accepted ?” Surely this is a melancholy consideration, and lays a great deal of blame somewhere, that such a man as Mr. Henry, so well qualified with gifts and graces for ministerial work, and in the prime of his days for usefulness, should be so industriously thrust out of the vineyard as a useless and unprofitable servant. This is for a lamentation ; especially since it was not his case alone, but the lot of so many **hundreds** of the same character.

In these circumstances of silence and restraint, he took comfort himself, and administered comfort to others, from that scripture, Isa. xvi. 4. “ Let mine



outcasts dwell with thee, Moab." God's people may be an outcast people, cast out of men's love, their synagogue, their country; but God will own his people when men cast them out; they are out-casts, but they are his, and somewhere or other he will provide a dwelling for them. There were many worthy able ministers in those parts turned out, both from work and subsistence, that had not such comfortable support for the life that now is, as Mr. Henry had; for whom he was most affectionately concerned, and to whom he shewed kindness. There were computed within a few miles round him, so many ministers turned out to the wide world, stripped of all their maintenance, and exposed to continual hardships, as with their wives and children, having most of them numerous families, made up above a hundred, that lived upon Providence. Yet, though oft reduced to want and straits, they were not forsaken, but were enabled to rejoice in the Lord, and to joy in the God of their salvation notwithstanding: to them the promise was fulfilled, Psalm xxxvii. 3, "So shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed."

One observation Mr. Henry made, not long before he died, when he had been young, and then was old, "That, though many of the ejected ministers were brought very low, had many children, were greatly harassed by persecution, and their friends generally poor and unable to support them, yet in all his acquaintance he never knew, nor could remember to have heard of, any non-conformist minister in prison for debt."

In October, 1663, Mr. Steele and Mr. Henry, and some other of their friends, were taken up and brought prisoners to Hanmer, under pretence of some plot, said to be on foot against the government: there they were kept under confinement some days; on which he writes—"It is sweet being in any condition with a clear conscience. The sting of death is sin, and so of

imprisonment also. It is the first time I ever was a prisoner; but perhaps it may not be the last. We felt no hardship; but we know not what we may." They were, after some days, examined by the deputy-lieutenants, charged with they knew not what, and so dismissed, finding verbal security to be forthcoming upon twenty-four hours notice. Mr. Henry returned to his tabernacle with thanksgivings to God, and a hearty prayer for his enemies, that God would forgive them.

In the beginning of the year 1665, when the act for a royal aid came out, the commissioners for Flintshire were pleased to nominate Mr. Henry sub-collector of the said tax for the township of Iscoyd, and Mr. Steele for the township of Hanmer. They intended thereby to put an affront and disparagement upon their ministry, and to show that they looked upon them but as laymen. His note upon it is, "It is not a sin which they put us upon, but it is a cross; and a cross in our way; and therefore to be taken up and borne with patience. When I had better work to do, I was wanting in my duty about it; and now this is put upon me, the Lord is righteous." He procured the gathering of it by others, only took account of it, and saw it duly done; and deserved, as he says he hoped he should, that inscription mentioned in Suetonius, "To the memory of an honest publican."

In September, 1665, he was again, by warrant from the deputy-lieutenants, carried prisoner to Hanmer, as was also Mr. Steele and others. He was examined about private meetings: some such, but private, indeed, he owned he had been present at of late in Shropshire, but the occasion was extraordinary; the plague was at that time raging in London, and he, and several of his friends having near relations there, thought it time to seek the Lord for them, and this was imputed to him as his crime. He was likewise charged with administering the Lord's Supper, which he denied, having never administered it since he was

disabled by the act of uniformity. After some days confinement, seeing they could prove nothing against him, he was discharged upon recognizance of twenty pounds, with two sureties, to be forthcoming upon notice, and to live peaceably. "But," says he, "our restraint was not strict, for we had liberty of prayer and conference together, to our mutual edification: thus, out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong, sweetness, and we found honey in the carcass of the lion." It was but a little before this, that Mr. Steele, setting out for London, was, by a warrant from the justices, under colour of the report of a plot, stopped and searched, and finding nothing to accuse him of, they seized his almanack, in which he kept his diary for that year; and it not being written very legibly they made what malicious readings and comments upon it they pleased, to his great wrong and reproach, though to all sober and sensible people, it discovered him to be a man, who kept a strict watch over his own heart, and who husbanded his time; and many said they got good by it, and should love him the better for it. This event made Mr. Henry somewhat more cautious and sparing in the records of his diary, when he saw "Evil men dig up mischief."

At Lady-day, 1666, the five-mile-act commenced, by which nonconformist ministers were forbidden, upon pain of six months imprisonment, to come, or be, within five miles of any corporation, or place, where they had been ministers, unless they would take an oath; of which Mr. Baxter says, it was credibly reported that the earl of Southampton, then lord high treasurer of England, said, "No honest man could take it."

On March 25, the day when that act took place, he thus writes: "A sad day among poor ministers up and down this nation; who by this act of restraint are forced to remove from among their friends, acquaintance, and relations, and sojourn among strangers, as

it were in Mesech, and in the tents of Kedar. But there is a God that tells their wanderings, and will put their tears, and the tears of their wives and children into his bottle: are they not in his book? The Lord be a little sanctuary to them, and a place of refuge from the storm and tempest, and pity those places, from which they are ejected, and come and dwell where they may not."

He wished their removes might not be figurative of evil to these nations, as Ezekiel's were, Ezek. xii. 1, 2, 3. This severe dispensation forced Mr. Steele and his family from Hanmer, and so he lost the comfort of his neighbourhood; but withal it drove Mr. Lawrence from Baschurch to Whitchurch parish, where he continued till he was driven thence too.

Mr. Henry's house at Broad Oak was but four reputed miles from the utmost limits of Worthenbury parish: but he got it measured, and accounting 1760 yards to a mile (according to the statute 35 Eliz., cap 6.) it was found to be just five miles and threescore yards, which one would think might have been his security. But there were those near him who were ready to stretch such laws to the utmost rigour, under pretence of construing them in favour of the King, and therefore would have it to be understood of reputed miles. This obliged him for some time to leave his family, and sojourn among his friends, to whom he endeavoured, wherever he came, to impart some spiritual gift. At last he ventured home, presuming, among other things, that the warrant by which he was made collector of the royal aid, while that continued, would secure him, according to a proviso in the last clause of the act: when the gentlemen perceived this, they discharged him from that office, before he had served out the time.

He was much affected that the burning of London happened so soon after the nonconformists were banished out of it. He thought it was in mercy to

them that they were removed before that desolating judgment came ; but that it spoke aloud to our governors, " Let my people go that they may serve me, and if ye will not, behold thus and thus I will do unto you." This was the Lord's voice crying in the city.

In the beginning of the year 1667, he removed with his family to Whitchurch, and dwelt there above a year, except that for one quarter of a year, about harvest, he returned to Broad-Oak. His remove to Whitchurch was partly to quiet his adversaries, who were ready to quarrel with him upon the five-mile act, and partly for the benefit of the school there for his children.

There, in April following, he buried his eldest son, not quite six years old, a child of extraordinary forwardness in learning, and of a very tractable disposition. This was a great affliction to the tender parents.

Many years after, he said, he thought he applied to himself at that time, but too sensibly, that scripture, Lam. iii. 1. " I am the man that hath seen affliction." And he would say to his friends upon such occasions, " Losers think they may have leave to speak ; but they must take care what they say, lest, speaking amiss to God's dishonour, they make work for repentance, and shed tears that must be wept over again." He observed concerning this child, that he had always been very patient under rebukes, " The remembrance of which," says he, " teacheth me now how to carry it under the rebukes of my heavenly Father." His prayer under this providence was, " Shew me, Lord, shew me wherefore thou contendest with me. Have I over-boasted, over-loved, over-prized ?" A Lord's-day intervening between the death and burial of the child, " I attended," said he, " on public ordinances, though sad in spirit, as Job, who after all the evil tidings that were brought him, whereof death of children was the last and heaviest, yet fell down and worshipped." And he would often say, upon such occa-

sions, "that weeping must not hinder sowing." Upon the interment of the child, he writes, "My dear child, now mine no longer, was laid in the cold earth; not lost, but sown to be raised again a glorious body; and I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me." A few days after, his dear friend, Mr. Lawrence, then living in Whitchurch parish, buried a daughter that was grown up, very hopeful, who gave good evidence of a work of grace wrought upon her soul: "How willing," says he, "may parents be to part with such when the Lord calls; they are not lost, but gone before." And he has this further remark, "The Lord has made his poor servants, that have been often companions in his work, now companions in tribulation, the very same tribulation; me for my sin, him for his trial."

While he lived at Whitchurch, he attended constantly upon the public ministry, and there, as ever, he was careful to come at the beginning of the service, which he attended upon with reverence and devotion; standing all the time, even while the chapters were read. In the evening of the Lord's day, he spent some time in instructing his family, to which a few of his friends and neighbours in the town would sometimes come in; and it was a little gleam of opportunity, but very short; for, as he notes, "He was offended at it, who should rather have rejoiced; if by any means the work might be carried on in his people's souls."

In this year, I think, was the first time that he administered the Lord's Supper (very privately to be sure) after he was silenced by the act of uniformity; and he did not do it without mature deliberation. A fear of separation kept him from it so long. What induced him to it at last, I find thus under his own hand: "I am a minister of Christ, and as such I am obliged, by virtue of my office, by all means to endeavour the good of souls. Now here is a company of



serious Christians, whose lot is cast to live in a parish where there is one set over them, who preaches the truth; and they come to hear him, and join with him in other parts of the worship; only, as to the Lord's Supper, they scruple the lawfulness of the gesture of kneeling; and he tells them his hands are tied, and he cannot administer it unto them in any other way; wherefore they come to me, and tell me they earnestly long for that ordinance; and there is a competent number of them, and opportunity to partake; and how dare I deny this request of theirs, without betraying my ministerial trust, and incurring the guilt of a grievous omission?"

In February, 1667-8, Mr. Lawrence and he were invited by some of their friends to Betley, in Staffordshire, and, there being some little public connivance at that time, with the consent of all concerned, they adventured to preach in the church, one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon of the Lord's-day, very peaceably and profitably. This was soon reported in the House of Commons by a member of Parliament, with these additions, that they tore the Common-prayer book, trampled the surplice under their feet, pulled the minister of the place out of the pulpit, &c. reports which there was not the least colour for. But that story, with some others equally false, produced an address of the house to the King, to issue out a proclamation, for putting the laws in execution against papists and nonconformists, which was issued out accordingly; though the King, at the opening of the session, a little before, had declared his desire, that "some course might be taken, to compose the minds of his Protestant subjects in matters of religion;" which had raised the expectations of some, that there would be speedy enlargement; but Mr. Henry noted upon it, "We cannot expect too little from man, nor too much from God."

And here it may be very pertinent to observe, how

industrious Mr. Henry was at this time, when he and his friends suffered such hard things from the government, to preserve and promote a good affection to it notwithstanding. It was commonly charged at that time upon the nonconformists in general, especially from the pulpits, that they were all a factious turbulent people, and, as was said of old, (Ezra iv. 15.) "hurtful to kings and provinces;" that their meetings were for sowing sedition and discontent, and the like. There is some reason to think, that one thing intended by the hardships put upon them was to drive them to this. "There is a way of making a wise man mad." But how peaceably they carried themselves, was manifest to God, and to the consciences of many. For an instance of it, it will not be amiss to give some account of a sermon which Mr. Henry preached in some very private meetings, such as were called seditious conventicles, in the year 1669, when it was a day of treading down, and perplexity: it was on that text, Psalm xxxv. 20. "Against them that are quiet in the land." Whence, though not to curry favour with rulers, for, whatever the sermon was, the very preaching of it, had it been known, must have been severely punished; but purely out of conscience towards God, he taught his friends this doctrine, "That it is the character of the people of God, that they are a quiet people in the land." This quietness he described "to be an orderly, peaceable subjection to governors and government in the Lord. We must maintain a reverent esteem for them, and their authority, in opposition to despising dominions; we must be meek under severe commands and burdensome impositions, not murmuring and complaining, as the Israelites against Moses and Aaron; but take them up as a cross in our way, and bear them, as we do foul weather. We must not speak evil of dignities, nor revile the ruler. Paul checked himself for this saying, I did not consider it, if I had, I would not have said so. We

must not traduce their government, as Absalom did David's. Great care is to be taken, how we speak of the faults of any, especially of rulers. The people of God make his word their rule, and by that they are taught, 1. that magistracy is God's ordinance, and magistrates God's ministers; that by him kings reign, and the powers that be, are ordained by him. 2. That they, as well as others, are to have their dues, honour, fear, and tribute. 3. That their lawful commands are to be obeyed, and that readily and cheerfully. That the penalties inflicted for not obeying unlawful commands are patiently to be undergone. This is the rule, and as many as walk according to this rule, "Peace shall be upon them," and there can be no danger of their unpeaceableness. They are taught to pray for kings, and all in authority, and God forbid we should do otherwise; yea, though they persecute us. Peaceable prayers bespeak a peaceable people. If some, professing religion, have been unquiet, their unquietness hath given the lie to their profession. Quietness is our badge, it will be our strength, our rejoicing in the day of evil; it is pleasing to God, it may work upon others. The means he prescribed for the keeping us quiet, were to get our hearts filled with the knowledge and belief of these two things: 1. That "the kingdom of Christ is not of this world:" many have thought otherwise, and it has made them unquiet. 2. "That the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God;" he needs not our sin to bring to pass his own counsel. We must mortify unquietness in the causes of it. We must always remember the oath of God: the oath of allegiance is an oath of quietness: and we must beware of the company and converse of those who are unquiet: though deceitful matters be devised, yet we must be quiet still; nay, be so much the more quiet. I have been thus large in gathering those hints out of that sermon, which he took all occasions, in other sermons, to inculcate, as all his brethren

likewise did, that, if possible, it may be a conviction to the present generation ; or, however, may be a witness in time to come, that the nonconformist ministers were not enemies to Cæsar, nor troublers of the land ; nor their meetings any way tending to the disturbance of the public peace ; but purely designed to help to repair the decays of christian piety. All that knew Mr. Henry, knew very well that his practice, all his days, was consonant to these his settled principles.

In May, 1668, he returned with his family from Whitchurch to Broad-Oak, which, through the good hand of his God upon him, continued his settled home, without any remove from it, till he was removed to his long home about twenty-eight years after. The severity of the five-mile-act began now a little to be abated, at least in the country ; and he was desirous to be more useful to the neighbours, among whom God had given him an estate, than he could be at a distance from them ; by relieving the poor, employing the labourers, especially by instructing the ignorant, and helping as many as he could to heaven. He made that scripture his standing rule, and wrote it in the beginning of his book of accounts, Prov. iii. 9, 10, "Honour the Lord with thy substance," &c. And having set apart a day of secret prayer and humiliation, to beg of God a wise and an understanding heart, and to drop a tear, as he expresses it, "over the sins of his predecessors in that estate," he laid out himself very much in doing good. He was very serviceable upon all accounts in the neighbourhood ; and, though it took up a great deal of his time, and hindered him from his beloved studies, yet it might be said of him, as bishop Burnet said of Archbishop Tillotson, in his sermon at his funeral, that he "chose rather to live to the good of others than to himself ; and thought, that to do an act of charity, or even of tenderness and kindness, was of more value, both in itself and in the ight

of God, than to pursue the pompous parts of learning, how much soever his own genius might lead him to it."

He was very useful in the common concerns of the township and country, in which he was a very prudent counsellor. It was, indeed, a narrow sphere of activity, but, such as it was, "To him," (as to Job,) "men gave ear and waited, and kept silence at his counsel, after his words they spake not again:" and many of the neighbours, who respected him not as a minister, loved and honoured him as a knowing, prudent, and humble neighbour. In the concerns of private families he was very far from busying himself, and further from seeking his own interests; but he was very much engaged, advising many about their affairs, and the disposal of themselves and their children, arbitrating and composing differences between relations and neighbours, in which he had an excellent faculty, and often good success; inheriting the blessing entailed upon the peace-makers. References have been sometimes made to him by rule of Court, at the assizes, with consent of parties. He was very affable, and easy of access, and admirably patient in hearing every one's complaint; which he would answer with so much prudence and mildness, and give such apt advice, that many a time to consult with him, was to ask counsel at Abel, and so to end the matter. He observed, that in almost all quarrels, there was a fault on both sides; and that generally they were most in fault, who were most forward and clamorous in their complaints. One making her moan to him of a bad husband, that in this and the other instance was unkind: "And, sir," said she, after a long complaint, which he patiently heard, "what would you have me to do now?" "Why, truly," says he, "I would have you to go home, and be a better wife to him, and then you will find that he will be a better husband to you." Labouring to persuade one to forgive an injury that was done him, he urged this,

“Are you not a Christian?” And followed that argument so close, that at last he prevailed.

He was very industrious, and often successful, in persuading people to “recede from their right, for peace-sake;” and he would for that purpose tell them Luther’s story of the two goats, which met upon a narrow bridge over a deep water; they could not go back, and durst not fight; after a short parley, one of them lay down, and let the other go over him, and no harm was done. He would likewise relate a remarkable story, worthy to be here inserted, concerning a good friend of his, Mr. Thomas Yate, of Whitechurch, who in his youth was greatly wronged by an unjust uncle of his portion, which was two hundred pounds: when he grew up, his uncle shuffled with him, and would give him but forty pounds; and he had no way of recovering his right but by law; but before he would engage in that, he was willing to advise with his minister, the famous Dr. Twiss, of Newbury: the counsel he gave him, all things considered, was, for peace-sake, and for the preventing of sin, snares, and trouble, to take the forty pounds rather than contend; “And Thomas,” said the Doctor, “if thou dost so, assure thyself, that God will make it up to thee and thine some other way; and they that defraud thee will be the losers by it at last.” He did so; and it pleased God so to bless that little which he began the world with, that when he died in a good old age, he left his son possessed of some hundreds a year, and he that wronged him fell into decay.

Many very pious worthy families in the country would say of Mr. Henry, that they had no friend like-minded, who did naturally care for their state, and so affectionately sympathize with them, and in whom their hearts could safely trust. He was very charitable to the poor, and was full of alms-deeds, which he did, as is said of Tabitha, Acts ix. 36, not which he said he would do, or which he put others on to do: but



dispersing abroad and giving to the poor, seeking and rejoicing in opportunities of that kind. When he gave an alms for the body, he usually gave also a spiritual alms, some good word of counsel, reproof, instruction, or comfort, as there was occasion; and in accommodating these to the persons he spoke to, he had very great dexterity.

He was very forward to lend money freely, to any of his poor neighbours that had occasion, and would sometimes say, that in many cases there was more charity in lending than in giving, because it obliged the borrower both to honesty and industry.

Such was his prudence, patience, and peaceableness, that in all the time he was at Broad-Oak, he never sued any, nor ever was sued, but was instrumental in preventing many vexatious law-suits among his neighbours. He used to say, "There are four rules to be duly observed in going to law:—1. We must not go to law for trifles; as he did who said, he would rather spend a hundred pounds in law than lose a pennyworth of his right. 2. We must not be rash and hasty in it, but try all other means possible to compose differences; wherein he that yields most, as Abraham did to Lot, is the better man; and there is nothing lost by it in the end. 3. We must see that it be without malice or desire of revenge. If the undoing of our brother be the end of our going to law, as it is with many, it is certainly evil, and it speeds accordingly. 4. It must be with a disposition to peace, whenever it may be had, and an ear open to all overtures of that kind."

Four rules he sometimes gave to be observed in our converse with men: "Have communion with few; be familiar with one; deal justly with all; speak evil of none."

He made it the diversion of his vacant hours, to oversee his gardens and fields. His care of this kind was an act of charity to poor labourers whom he em-

ployed, a good example to his neighbours, and for the comfort of his family. While thus engaged, his time was excellently improved for spiritual purposes, by occasional meditations; hints of which there are often in his diary, as those who conversed with him had many in discourse. He used to say, that many Scripture-parables and similitudes are taken from the common actions of this life, that when our hands are employed about them, our hearts may the more easily pass through them to divine and heavenly things. I have heard him often blame those, whose irregular zeal in the profession of religion, makes them neglect their regular business, and let the house drop through; the affairs of which, the good man will order with discretion. He would tell sometimes how a pious woman was convinced of this her fault, by means of an intelligent godly neighbour; who, coming into the house, and finding the woman, far in the day, in her closet, and the house sadly neglected, said "What, is there no fear of God in this house?" which much startled and affected the good woman, who overheard him. He would often say, "Every thing is beautiful in its season, and that it is the wisdom of the prudent, so to order the duties of their general callings as Christians, and those of their particular callings in the world, as that they may not clash or interfere. I have observed it from Eccles. vii. 16. That there may be over-doing in well-doing."

I cannot omit one little passage in his diary, because it may be instructive. When he was desired to be bound for one that had, upon a particular occasion, been bound for him, he writes, "Solomon says, He that hateth suretyship is sure;" but he says also, "He that hath friends must shew himself friendly." But he always cautioned those that became sureties, not to be bound for more than they knew themselves able to pay, and would be willing to pay, if the principal failed.

He was very tender and compassionate towards poor strangers and travellers, though his candour and charity were often imposed upon by cheats and pretenders, whom he was not apt to be suspicious of; but would say in the most favourable sense, "Thou knowest not the heart of a stranger." If any asked his charity, whose representation of their case he did not like, or who he thought did amiss to take that course, he would first give them an alms, and then mildly reprove them; labouring to convince them that they were out of the way of duty, that they could not expect God should bless them in it; and would not chide, but reason with them. He would say, if he should tell them of their faults, and not give them an alms, the reproof would look only like an excuse to deny his charity, and would be rejected accordingly.

In a word, his greatest care about the things of this world was, how to do good with what he had, and to devise liberal things; desiring to make no other accession to his estate, but only that blessing which attends beneficence. He firmly believed (though it should seem few do) that what "is given to the poor, is lent to the Lord," who will pay it again, in kind or kindness; and that religion and piety is the best friend to outward prosperity, and he found it so; for it pleased God abundantly to bless his habitation, and to "make a hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he had on every side." Though he did not delight himself in the abundance of wealth, yet, which is far better, he delighted himself in the abundance of peace. All that he had and did observably prospered, so that the country oftentimes called his family, "a family which the Lord had blessed." His comforts of this kind were (as he used to pray they might be) "oil to the wheels of his obedience," and in the use of those things he served the Lord his God with "joyfulness and gladness of heart;"

yet still mindful of, and “grieved for, the afflictions of Joseph.” He would say sometimes, when he was in the midst of the comforts of this life, as that good man who exclaimed, ‘All this, and heaven too! surely then we serve a good Master.’ Thus did the Lord bless him, and make him a blessing; and this abundant grace, through the thanksgiving of many, redounded to the glory of God.

Having given this general account of his circumstances at Broad-Oak, we shall now go on with his story, especially as to the exercise of his ministry there, and thereabouts; for that was his business on which he was intent, and to which he wholly gave himself, taking other things by the bye. After his settlement at Broad-Oak, whenever there was preaching at Whitewell-chapel (as usually there was on saint’s-days in the month) he constantly attended there with his family; was usually with the first, and reverently joined in the public service. He often invited the minister to dine with him; after dinner he sang a psalm, repeated the morning sermon, and prayed; and then attended in like manner in the afternoon. In the evening he preached to his own family; and perhaps two or three of his neighbours would drop in to him. On those Lord’s-days when there was no preaching at the chapel, he spent the whole day at home; and many an excellent sermon he preached, when there were only four besides his own family, and perhaps not so many, according to the limitation of the conventicle-act.

In the time of trouble and distress, by the conventicle-act, in 1670, he kept private, and stirred little abroad, being loth to offend those who were in power, and judging it prudent to gather in his sails when the storm was violent. He then observed, as that which he was troubled at, “That there was a great deal of precious time lost among professors, when they came together, in discoursing of their adventures to meet,

and their escapes, which he feared tended more to set up self, than to give glory to God." Also in relating how they got together, and such a one preached, but little enquiring what spiritual benefit and advantage was reaped from it. He observed, we are apt to make the circumstances of our religious services, more the matter of our discourse, than the substance of them. His settled principle, which he took all occasions to mention, was, "In those things wherein all the people of God are agreed, I will spend my zeal; and wherein they differ, I will endeavour to walk according to the light which God hath given me, and charitably believe that others do so too."

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## CHAP. VI.

*His liberty by the indulgence in 1672, and thenceforwards, to the year 1681.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the severe act against conventicles, in the year 1670, yet the nonconformists in London ventured to set up meetings in 1671, and were connived at; but in the country there was little liberty taken, till the King's declaration of March 15, 1671-2 gave countenance and encouragement to it. What were the secret springs that produced that declaration, time discovered;\* however, it was to the poor dissenters as life from the dead, and gave them some reviving in their bondage. But it was so precarious a liberty, that it should never be said, those people were hard to be pleased, who were so well pleased with that, and thanked God who put such a thing into the King's heart. The tenor of that declaration was this: "In consideration of the inefficacy of rigour, tried for

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\* To favour the Romanists.—ED.

divers years, and to invite strangers into the kingdom, ratifying the establishment of the Church of England, it suspends penal laws against all nonconformists and recusants, promiseth to licence separate places for meetings; limiting papists only to private-houses."

On this Mr. Henry writes, "It is a thing diversely resented, as men's interests lead them: the conformists displeased, the presbyterians glad, the independents very glad, the papists triumph. The danger is, lest the allowing of separate places help to overthrow our parish order, which God hath owned, and thus divisions and animosities rise among us, which every honest man would rather should be healed. We are put hereby into three difficulties, either to turn independents in practice, or to strike in with the conformists, or to sit down in former silence and sufferings (and silence he accounted one of the greatest sufferings) till the Lord shall open a more effectual door." That which (he says) he then heartily wished for, was, "That those who were in place, would admit the sober nonconformists to preach sometimes occasionally in their pulpits; by which means he thought prejudices would in time wear off on both sides, and they might mutually strengthen each others hands against the common enemy, the papists; who, he foresaw, would fish best in troubled waters." This he would choose, much rather than to keep a separate meeting: but it could not be had; no, not so much as leave to preach at Whitewell chapel when it was vacant, as it often was, though it were three long miles from the parish church. He found that some people, the more they are courted, the more coy they are; however, the overtures he made to this purpose, and the slow steps he took about setting up a distinct congregation, yielded him satisfaction in the reflection, when he could say, we would have been united, and they would not.

It was several weeks after the declaration came out,



that he received a licence to preach, as Paul did, in his own house, and elsewhere, "no man forbidding him." This was procured for him by some of his friends at London, without his knowledge, and came to him altogether unexpectedly. The use he made of it was, that what he did before to his own family, and in private, the doors being shut for fear, he now did more publicly; opened his doors, and welcomed his neighbours, to partake of his spiritual things: only one sermon in the evening of the Lord's-day, when there was preaching at Whitewell chapel, where he still continued his attendance with his family and friends; but when there was not, he spent the whole day, at public time, in the proper services of it, exposition of the Scriptures read, and preaching, with prayer and praise. This he did gratuitously; receiving nothing for his labours, either at home or abroad, but the satisfaction of doing good to souls, which was his meat and drink, with the trouble and charge of entertaining many of his friends, which he did with much cheerfulness. He would say, he sometimes thought that the bread even multiplied in breaking, and he found that God abundantly blessed his provision, with that blessing, which as he used to say, "will make a little go a great way." He was wont to observe, for the encouragement of such as had meetings in their own houses, which sometimes drew upon them inconveniences, "That the ark is a guest, that always pays well for its entertainment." And he noted, that when Christ had borrowed Peter's boat to preach a sermon out of it, he presently repaid him for the loan with "a great draught of fishes."

He had many thoughts of heart concerning this use he made of the liberty, not knowing what would be in the end hereof; but after serious consideration, and many prayers, he saw his way very plain, and addressed himself with all diligence, to improve this gale of opportunity. Some had dismal apprehensions of

the issue of it; and that there would be an after-reckoning. "But," said he, "let us mind our duty, and let God alone to order events, which is his work, not ours."

It was a seasonable word which he preached at that time for his own encouragement, and the encouragement of his friends, from Eccl. xi. 4. "He that observeth the wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap." Those that are minded either to do good, or get good, must not be frightened with seeming difficulties and discouragements. Our work is to sow and reap, to do good and get good; let us mind that, and let who will mind the winds and clouds. "A lion in the way, a lion in the streets;" a very unlikely place, he would say, for lions to be in, and yet it serves the sluggard for an excuse.

While this liberty lasted, he was "in labours more abundant;" many lectures he preached abroad in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Denbighshire, laying out himself exceedingly for the good of souls, spending and being spent in the work of the Lord. And of that neighbourhood, and of that time it was said, that "this and that man was born" again, then and there; and many there were who asked the way to Sion, with their faces thitherwards, and were not proselyted to a party, but savingly brought home to Jesus Christ. I mean this; such as had been vain and worldly, and careless, and unmindful of God and another world, became sober and serious, and concerned about their souls and a future state. This was the "conversion of souls," aimed at, and laboured after and through grace, not altogether in vain. Whatever lectures were set up in the country round, it was still desired that Mr. Henry should begin them, which was thought no small encouragement to those who were to carry them on; and very happy he was, both in the choice and management of his subjects at such opportunities, seeking to find out acceptable words. Take

one specimen of his address, when he began a lecture with a sermon, on Heb. xii. 15. "I assure you, says he, and God is my witness, I am not come to preach, either sedition against the peace of the state, or schism against the peace of the church, by persuading you to this or that opinion or party; but as a minister of Christ, who has received mercy from the Lord to desire to be faithful, my errand is to exhort you to all possible seriousness, in the great business of your eternal salvation, according to my text; which, if the Lord will make as profitable to you, as it is material, and of weight in itself, neither you nor I shall have cause to repent our being here to-day; looking diligently, lest any of you fail of the grace of God. If it were the last sermon I were to preach, I know not how to take my aim better to do you good."

In doing this work, he often said, that he looked upon himself, but as an assistant to the parish-ministers, in promoting the common interests of Christ's kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls, by the explication and application of those great truths, wherein we are all agreed. He would compare the case to that in Hezekiah's time, when the Levites helped the Priests to kill the sacrifices, which was something irregular, but the exigence of affairs called for it; the Priests being too few, and some of them not so careful as they should have been, to sanctify themselves. (2 Chron. xxix. 34.) Wherever he preached, he usually prayed for the parish-minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry. He has often said how well pleased he was, when, after he had preached a lecture at Oswestry, he went to visit the minister of the place, Mr. Edwards, a worthy good man; and told him, he had been sowing a handful of seed among his people; and had this answer, "That's well, the Lord prosper your seed and mine too! there is need enough of us both." And another worthy conformist that came privately to hear him,

but was reprimanded for it by his superiors, told him afterwards with tears, that "his heart was with him."

His heart was wonderfully enlarged in his work at this time ; and God remarkably owned him, setting many seals to his ministry, which much confirmed him in what he did. He has this observable passage in his diary, about this time, which he recorded for his after benefit, and the example of it may be instructive. "Remember, that if trouble should come hereafter, for what we do now in the use of present liberty, I neither shrink from it, nor sink under it ; for I do therein approve myself to God, and to my own conscience, in truth and uprightness ; and the Lord, whom I serve, can and will certainly, both bear me out, and bring me off with comfort in the end. I say, remember, and forget it not, this 24th day of March, 1672-3."

It was at the beginning of this liberty, that the society at Broad-Oak commenced ; made up, besides the neighbourhood, of some out of Whitchurch, and Whitchurch-parish, who had been Mr. Porter's people ; some out of Hanmer-parish, who had been Mr. Steele's, and some out of the parishes of Wem, Prees, and Ellesmere ; persons generally of very moderate and sober principles, quiet and peaceable lives, and hearty well-wishers to the King and government. They were not rigid or schismatical in their separation, but willing to attend, though sometimes with difficulty and hazard, upon those administrations which they found most lively, edifying, and helpful to them, in the great business of working out their salvation. To this society he would never call himself a pastor, nor was he willing they should call him so ; but a helper, and a minister of Christ for their good. He would say, "That he looked upon his family only as his charge, and his preaching to others was but accidental ; and if they came, he could no more turn

them away, than he could a poor hungry man, who came to his door for an alms. And being a minister of Jesus Christ, he thought himself bound to preach the gospel, as he had opportunity.

Usually once a month he administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Some of his opportunities of that kind he sets a particular remark upon, as comfortable days, on which he found it good to draw near to God. When about the year's end there was a general expectation of the cancelling the indulgence, he has this note upon a "precious sabbath and sacrament-day," as he calls it; "Perhaps this may be the last; Father, thy will be done; it is good for us to be at such uncertainties, for now we receive our liberty from our Father, fresh every day, which is the sweetest of all."

In the years 1677, 1678, and 1679, in the course of his ministry at Broad-Oak, he preached over the Ten Commandments, and largely opened from other texts of scripture the duties required, and sins forbidden, in each commandment. For, though none delighted more in preaching Christ and gospel-grace, yet he knew, that Christ came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them; and that, though we are not under the law, as a covenant, yet we are under it as a rule; under a law to Christ. He was very large and particular in pressing second-table duties, as essential to Christianity. We have known those, said he, that have called preaching on such subjects, good moral preaching; but let them call it as they will, I am sure it is necessary, and as much now as ever." How earnestly would he press the necessity of righteousness and honesty, in the whole conduct. "A good Christian, (he used to say,) will be a good husband, a good father, a good master, a good subject, a good neighbour, and so on in other relations." How often would he urge to this purpose, that it is the will and command of the great God,—the character of all the citizens

of Sion,—the beauty and ornament of our Christian profession,—and the surest way to thrive and prosper in the world. “Honesty is the best policy.” He would say, that these are things in which the children of this world are competent judges. They that know not what belongs to faith and repentance, and prayer, yet know what belongs to making an honest bargain : they are the parties concerned, and oftentimes are themselves careful in those things ; and therefore those who profess religion, should walk very circumspectly, that the name of God and his doctrine should not be blasphemed, nor religion wounded through their sides. Thus he preached, and his constant practice was a comment upon it. He was more than ordinarily enlarged in urging his hearers to “speak evil of no man,” from Tit. iii. 2. If we can say no good of persons, we must say nothing of them. He gave it as a rule, “Never to speak of any one’s faults to others, till we have first spoken of them to the offender himself.” He was himself an eminent example of this rule. Some that conversed much with him, have said, that they never heard him speak evil of any one ; nor could he bear to hear any spoken evil of, but often drove away a backbiting tongue with an angry countenance. He was known to be as faithful a patron of offenders before others, as he was a faithful reprover of them to themselves.

Whenever he preached on moral duties, he would always have something of Christ in his sermon ; either his life, as the great pattern of his duty ; or his love, as the great motive to it ; or his merit, as making atonement for the neglect of it.

In the year 1680, he preached on the doctrines of faith and repentance, from several texts of Scripture. He used to say, that he had been told concerning the famous Mr. Dod, that some called him in scorn, “Faith and repentance,” because he insisted so much



upon these two, in his preaching. "But," said he, "if this be to be vile, I will yet be more vile, for faith and repentance are all in all in Christianity." Concerning repentance he has sometimes said, "If I were to die in the pulpit, I would desire to die preaching repentance; and if I die out of the pulpit, I would desire to die practising it." And he had often this saying concerning it: "He that repents every day, for the sins of every day, will, when he comes to die, have but the sins of one day to repent of. Even reckonings make long friends."

That year also, and the year 1681, he preached on the duties of hearing the word and prayer; of the former, from the parable of the sower; of the latter, from the Lord's Prayer. He looked upon the Lord's Prayer, to be not only a directory or pattern for prayer, but proper to be used as a form; and accordingly he used it, both in public and in his family. He thought it was an error on the one hand, to lay so much stress upon it, as some do, who think no solemn prayer accepted, nor any solemn ordinance or administration of worship complete without it. He thought it an error on the other hand not to use it at all: for it is a prayer, a compendious, comprehensive prayer, and may be of use to us, at least as much as other Scripture Prayers. But he thought it a much greater error to be angry at those that do use it, to judge and censure them, and for no other reason to conceive prejudices against them and their ministry. "A great strait, says he, poor ministers are in, when some will not hear them, if they do not use the Lord's Prayer, and others will not hear them if they do. What is to be done in this case? We must walk according to the light we have, and approve ourselves to God, either in using or not using it, and wait for the day when God will mend the matter; which I hope he will do in his own time."

He was in the close of his exposition of the Lord's Prayer, when a dark cloud was brought upon his assemblies, and he was necessitated to contract his public labours.

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## CHAP. VII.

*The rebukes he lay under at Broad-Oak, betwixt the years 1680, and 1687.*

IN the beginning of the year 1681, in April and May, the country was greatly afflicted by an extreme drought: some serious people proposed that there should be some time set apart for fasting and prayer, in a solemn assembly upon this occasion. The connivance of authority was presumed upon, because no disturbance of meetings was heard of at London, or any where else. Mr. Henry was desired to come and give his assistance at that day's work. He asked, upon what terms they stood with the neighbouring justices; and, it was answered, "Well enough." The drought continued in extremity: some that had not used to come to such meetings, came thither, upon the apprehension they had of the threatening judgment, which the country was under. Mr. Henry prayed and preached on Psalm lxvi. 18. "If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me;" whence his doctrine was, that "Iniquity regarded in the heart, will certainly spoil the success of prayer." When he was in the midst of his sermon, closely applying this truth, Sir T. V. of Hodnet, and Mr. M. of Ightfield, two justices of the peace for Shropshire, with several others of their retinue, came suddenly upon them, disturbed them, set guards upon the house-door, and came in themselves; severally rallied all they knew, reflected upon the House of Commons, and the vote they had passed, concerning the present unseasonableness,

of putting the laws in execution against Protestant dissenters, as if in so voting, they had acted beyond their sphere, as they did, who took away the life of King Charles. They diverted themselves with very abusive and unbecoming talk, swearing, cursing, and reviling bitterly. Being told the occasion of the meeting was to seek to "turn away the anger of God from us" in this present drought, it was answered, "Such meetings as these were the cause of God's anger." While they were thus entertaining themselves, their clerks took the names of those that attended, in all, about one hundred and fifty, and so dismissed them for the present. Mr. Henry has noted, in the account he kept of this event, that the justices came to this work, from the ale-house upon Prees-heath, about two miles off, to which, and the bowling-green adjoining, they with other justices, gentlemen, and clergymen of the neighbourhood, had long before obliged themselves to come every Tuesday, during the summer-time, under the penalty of twelve-pence a time if they were absent; and there to spend the day in drinking and bowling. This was thought to be as much more to the dishonour of God, and the scandal of the Christian profession, as cursing, swearing, and drunkenness, are worse than praying, singing Psalms, and hearing the word of God. After the feat done, they returned to the ale-house, and made themselves and their companions merry with calling over the names they had taken, making their reflections as they saw cause, and recounting the particulars of the exploit. There was one of the company, whose wife happened to be present at the meeting, and her name taken among the rest: when they upbraided him with this, he answered, that she had been better employed than he, and if Mr. Henry might be admitted to preach in a church, "he would go a great many miles to hear him." For these words he was forthwith expelled their company, and never more allowed to shew his face

at that bowling-green; to which he replied, If they had so ordered long ago, it had been a great deal better for him and his family. Two days after, they met at Hodnet, where, upon the oath of two witnesses, who, it was supposed, were sent on purpose to inform, they signed and sealed two records of conviction. By one record they convicted the master of the house, and fined him twenty pounds, and five pounds more as a constable of the town that year; and with him all the persons present, whose names they had taken, and fined them five shillings each, and issued out warrants accordingly. By another record, they convicted the two ministers, Mr. Bury, and Mr. Henry. The act makes it only punishable to "preach or teach" in any such conventicle; and yet they fined Mr. Bury twenty pounds, though he only prayed, and did not speak one word in the way either of preaching or teaching, not so much as "Let us pray:" however, they said, "Praying was teaching," and right or wrong, he must be fined; though his great piety, peaceableness, and usefulness, besides his deep poverty, might have pleaded for him, against so palpable an act of injustice. They took seven pounds from him, and laid it upon others, as they saw cause; and, for the remaining thirteen pounds, he being utterly unable to pay it, they took from him, by distress, the bed which he lay upon, with blanket and rug, also another feather bed, nineteen pair of sheets, most of them new; of which he could not prevail to have one pair returned for him to lie in; also books, to the value of five pounds, besides brass and pewter. And though he was at this time perfectly innocent of that heinous crime of "preaching and teaching," with which he was charged, yet he had no way to right himself, but by appealing to the justices themselves in quarter-sessions, who would be sure to affirm their own decree, as the justices in Montgomeryshire had done not long before in a like case, especially when

it was to recover to themselves treble costs. So the good man sat down with his loss, and "took joyfully the spoiling of his goods; knowing in himself, that he had in heaven a better, and an enduring substance."

But Mr. Henry, being the greatest criminal, and having done the most mischief, was fined forty pounds. The pretence of which was this: in the year 1679, Oct. 15, Mr. Kynaston, of Oatly, a justice of peace in Shropshire, meeting him and some others coming, as he supposed, from a conventicle, was pleased to record their conviction, "upon the notorious evidence and circumstance of the fact." The record was filed at Shrewsbury the next Sessions; but no notice was sent of it, either to Mr. Henry, or the justices of Flintshire; nor any prosecution upon it, against any of the parties; the reason of which Mr. Henry, in a narrative he wrote of this affair, supposes to be, not only the then favourable posture of public affairs towards dissenters, but also the particular prudence and lenity of Mr. Kynaston, so that having never smarted for this, he could not be supposed to be deterred from the like offence; nor, if he were wronged in that first conviction, had he ever any opportunity of making his appeal. However, the justices thought that first record sufficient to give denomination to a second offence, and so he came to be fined double. This conviction, according to the direction of the act, they certified to the next adjoining justices of Flintshire, who had carried themselves with great temper and moderation towards Mr. Henry, and never given him any disturbance; though, if they had been so minded, they had not wanted opportunities; but they were now necessitated to execute the sentences of the Shropshire justices. He was much pressed to pay the fine, which might prevent his own loss, and the justices trouble. But he was not willing to do it; partly because he would not encourage such prosecutions, nor voluntarily reward the informers for that, which he thought they should rather be punished

for ; and partly, because he thought himself wronged in the doubling of the fine. Whereupon his goods were distrained upon and carried away. As the warrant gave them no authority to break open doors, nor their watchfulness any opportunity to enter the house, they carried away thirty-three cart-loads of goods without doors, corn cut upon the ground, hay, coals, &c. This made a great noise in the country, and raised the indignation of many, against the decrees which prescribed this grievousness ; while Mr. Henry bore it with his usual evenness and serenity of mind. He did not boast of his sufferings, or make any great matter of them ; but would often say, "Alas, this is nothing to what others suffer, nor to what we ourselves may suffer before we die:" and yet he rejoiced and blessed God that it was not for debt, nor for evil doing, that his goods were carried away. And, says he, "While it is for well-doing that we suffer, they cannot harm us." Thus he writes in his diary upon it, "How oft have we said that changes are at the door, but, blessed be God, there is no sting in this." He frequently expressed the assurance he had, that, whatever damage he sustained, "God is able to make it up again:" and, as he used to say, though we may be losers for Christ, we shall not be losers by him in the end. He had often said, that his preaching was likely to do the most good when it was sealed by suffering ; and, "if this be the time (says he) welcome the will of God ; even this also shall turn to the furtherance of the gospel of Christ."

Soon after this, was the assizes for Flintshire, held at Mold, where Sir George Jeffries, then chief-justice of Chester, afterwards Lord Chancellor, sat judge. He did not in private conversation seem to applaud what was done in this matter, as was expected ; whether out of a private pique against some that had been active in it, or for what other reason is not known ; but it was said that he pleasantly asked some of the gentlemen, by



what new law they pressed carts, as they passed along the road, to carry away goods distrained for a conventicle? It was also said, that he spoke with some respect of Mr. Henry; saying, he knew him and his character well, that he was a great friend of his mother, Mrs. Jeffries, of Acton, near Wrexham, a very pious woman; and that sometimes, at his mother's request, Mr. Henry had examined him in his learning, when he was a school-boy, and commended his proficiency. It was much wondered at by many, that of all the times Sir George Jefferies went that circuit, though it is well known what was his temper, and the temper of that time, he never sought any occasion against Mr. Henry, nor took the occasions that were offered, nor countenanced any trouble intended him, though he was the only nonconformist minister in Flintshire.

Mr. Henry, at the next assizes after he was distrained upon, was presented by one of the high constables: 1. for "keeping a conventicle at his house;" and 2. for saying, "That the law for suppressing conventicles ought not to be obeyed, and that there was never a tittle of the word of God in it." The latter presentment was altogether false. He had, indeed, in discourse with the high constable, when he insisted so much upon the law, which required him to be so rigorous in the prosecution, objected, that "All human laws were not to be obeyed, merely because they were laws." But as to any such reflections upon the law he suffered by, he was far from it, and had prudence enough to keep silence at that time; for it was an evil time, when so many were made "offenders for a word." But these presentments met with so little countenance from Judge Jefferies, that Mr. Henry only entered his appearance in the prothonotary's office, and they were no more heard of; wherein he acknowledged the hand of God, who turneth the hearts of men, "as the rivers of water."

In the same year, 1681, happened a public discourse at Oswestry, between Dr. William Lloyd, then bishop of St. Asaph, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and some nonconformist ministers, of whom Mr. Henry was one.

Mr. Henry, who was utterly a stranger to the bishop, pressed hard to have had the discourse in private, before a select number; but it would not be granted. He also desired his lordship, that it might not be expected from him, being of another diocese, to concern himself in the discourse, but only as a hearer: "Nay, Mr. Henry (said the bishop), it is not the concern of my diocese alone, but it is the common cause of religion; and therefore I expect you should interest yourself in it, more than as a hearer." His lordship was pleased to promise, that nothing which should be said by way of argument, should be any way turned to the prejudice of the disputants, nor any advantage be taken of it to give them trouble. There were present divers of the clergy and gentry of the country, with the magistrates of the town, and a great number of people; if this could have been avoided, it would have been preferred by Mr. Henry, who never loved any thing that made a noise, being herein like his Master, who did "not strive nor cry." The discourse began about two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till between seven and eight at night. It was managed with a great deal of liberty, and not under the strict laws of disputation, which made it hard to give any tolerable account of the particulars of it. The arguments on both sides, may better be fetched from books written on the subject, than from such a discourse. The bishop managed his part of the conference with a great deal of gravity, calmness, and evenness of spirit; and therein gave an excellent pattern to all in such stations. Mr. Henry's remark upon this affair in his diary is this: "That whereas many reports went abroad far and near concerning it, every one passing his judgment upon the

result of it as he stood affected; for my own part, upon reflection, I find I have great reason to be ashamed of my manifold infirmities and imperfections; and yet do bless God, that seeing I could manage it no better, to do the truth more service, there was not more said and done to its disservice; to God be glory." Some who were adversaries to the cause Mr. Henry pleaded, though they were not convinced by his arguments, yet by his great meekness and humility, and that truly christian spirit which appeared so evidently in the whole management, were brought to have a better opinion of him, and the way in which he walked.

The conference broke off a little abruptly; the bishop and Mr. Henry, being somewhat close at an argument, in the recapitulation of what had been discoursed of, Mr. Jonathan Roberts whispered to Mr. Henry, "Pray, let my lord have the last word." A justice of peace upon the bench over-hearing this, presently replied, "You say my lord shall have the last word, but he shall not, for I will; we thank God we have the sword of power in our hands, and by the grace of God we will keep it, and it shall not rust; and I hope every lawful magistrate will do as I do; and look to yourselves, gentlemen, by the grace of God I will root you out of the country." To which a forward man in the crowd said, "Amen, throw them down stairs." This the bishop heard with silence, but the mayor of the town took order for their safety.

Two days after this discourse, the bishop wrote a very obliging letter to Mr. Henry, to signify how very much he was pleased with the good temper and spirit that he found in him at Oswestry; that he looked upon him, as one that intended well, but laboured under prejudices; and desired further acquaintance and conversation with him; particularly that he would come to him immediately at Wrexham. About three months after, he sent for him to Chester; in both which interviews a great deal of discourse, with much free-

dom, passed between them in private, in which they seemed to vie in nothing more than in candour and obligingness, shewing to each other all meekness. The bishop was pleased to shew him his plan for the government of his diocese, and the method he intended to take in church-censures : this Mr. Henry very well approved of ; but pleasantly told his lordship, he hoped he would take care that Juvenal's verse should not be again verified :

“ Clipt the dove's wings, and gave the vulture's course.”

DRYDEN.

which the bishop smiled at, and told him, he would take care it should not.. His lordship, observing his true catholic charity and moderation, told him he did not look upon him as a schismatic ; but only as a separatist ; and that if he were in his diocese, he did not question but he should find out some way to make him useful. But all his reasonings could not satisfy Mr. Henry's conscience of the lawfulness of being re-ordained and conforming. The bishop, for some years after, when he came that way towards London, either called on Mr. Henry at his house, or sent for him to Whitchurch, and still with all expressions of friendship.

The trouble which Mr. Henry was in, about the meeting at Weston, obliged him for awhile, to keep his sabbaths privately at home ; but in the year 1682, he took a greater liberty, and many flocked to him on Lord's-days, through the kind connivance of neighbouring magistrates. But in the year 1683, when the meetings were generally suppressed through the kingdom, he was again necessitated to act more privately, and confine his labours more to his own family, and his friends that visited him. He continued his attendance at Whitewell-chapel as usual ; and when he was abridged of his liberty, he often blessed God for his quietness. Once when the curate preached a bitter sermon against dissenters, on a Lord's-day morning,

some wondered that Mr. Henry would go again in the afternoon, for the second part. "But (says he), if he doth not know his duty, I know mine; and I bless God, I can find honey in a carcass."

In this time of "treading down, and of perplexity," he stirred little abroad; being forced, as he used to express it, "to throw the plough under the hedge;" but he preached constantly at home, without disturbance. He often comforted himself with this, "When we cannot do what we would, if we do what we can, God will accept of us; when we cannot keep open shop, we must drive a secret trade." And he would say, "There is a mean, if we could hit it, between fool-hardiness and faint-heartedness." While he had some opportunity of being useful at home, he was afraid he should prejudice that by venturing abroad. One of his friends in London, earnestly soliciting him to make a visit thither in this time of restraint in the country, he thus wrote to him—"I should be glad once more to kiss my native soil, though it were but with a kiss of valediction: but my indisposedness to travel, and the small prospect there is of doing good to countervail the pains, are my prevailing arguments against it. I am here, it is true, buried alive; but I am quiet in my grave, and have no mind to be a walking ghost. We rejoice, and desire to be thankful, that God hath given us a home; and continued it to us, when so many, better than we, have not where to lay their head, having no certain dwelling-place. (It was at the time of the dispersion of the French Protestants.) Why are they exiles, and not we? They strangers in a strange land, and not we? We must not say, we will die in our nests, lest God say, nay; nor, we will multiply our days as the sand, lest God say, this night, &c. Our times and all our ways are at his disposal, absolutely and universally; and it is very well they are so."

At the time of the duke of Monmouth's descent,

and the insurrection in the West, in the year 1685, Mr. Henry, as many others, pursuant to a general order of the lord-lieutenant, for securing all suspected persons, and particularly all nonconformist ministers, was taken up by a warrant from the deputy-lieutenants, and sent under a guard to Chester castle, where he was about three weeks a close prisoner. He was lodged with some gentlemen and ministers that were brought thither out of Lancashire, who were all strangers to him ; but he had great comfort in the acquaintance and society of many of them.

He often spoke of this imprisonment, not as matter of complaint, but of thanksgiving ; and blessed God he was “ in nothing uneasy all the while.” In a sermon to his family, the day after he came home, he largely and affectionately recounted the mercies of that providence : as for instance, “ That his imprisonment was for no ill cause : it is guilt that makes a prison. That it was his security in a dangerous time. That he had good company in his sufferings, who prayed and read the scriptures together, and discoursed to their mutual edification. That he had health there ; not “ sick, and in prison.” That he was visited and prayed for by his friends. That he was very cheerful and easy in his spirit ; many a time asleep and quiet, when his adversaries were disturbed and unquiet. That his enlargement was speedy and unsought for ; and that it gave occasion to the magistrates who committed him, to give it under their hands, that they had nothing in particular to lay to his charge ; and especially that it was without a snare, which was the thing he feared more than any thing else.

It was a surprise to some who visited him in his imprisonment, and were big with expectations of the duke of Monmouth’s success, to hear him say, “ I would not have you flatter yourselves with such hopes, for God will not do his work for us in these nations by



that man; but our deliverance and salvation will arise some other way."

It must not be forgotten how ready, yea, studious and industrious, he was, to serve and oblige those who had been any way instruments of trouble to him, as far as he had power and opportunity; so well had he learnt that great lesson of forgiving and loving enemies; of this it were easy to give instances.

When a gentleman, who had sometimes been an instrument of trouble to him, had occasion to make use of his help to give him light into a cause he had to be tried, Mr. Henry was very ready to serve him; and though he might have declined it, and it was somewhat against his own interest too, yet he appeared as a witness for him; which so won upon the gentleman, that he was afterwards more friendly to him. Mentioning in his diary the death of a gentleman in Shropshire, he notes, that he had been his professed enemy; but, says he, "God knows, I have often prayed for him."

Some have wondered to see in how courteous and friendly a manner he would speak to such as had been any way injurious to him, when he met with them; being as industrious to manifest his forgiveness of wrongs, as some are to discover their resentment of them. It was said of Archbishop Cranmer, that the way to have him one's friend, was to do him an unkindness; and it might be said of Mr. Henry, that doing him an unkindness would not make him one's enemy. This reminds me of an exemplary passage, concerning his worthy friend, Mr. Edward Lawrence: once going with some of his sons, by the house of a gentleman who had been injurious to him, he charged them, that they should never think or speak amiss of that gentleman for the sake of any thing he had done against him; but whenever they went by his house, should lift up their hearts in prayer to God for him and

his family. And who is he that will harm those, who are thus followers of Him that is good, in his goodness? It is almost the only temporal promise in the New Testament, which is made to the meek, Mat. v. 5, that "they shall inherit the earth;" the meaning whereof, Dr. Hammond, in his Practical Catechism, takes to be especially this, "That in the ordinary dispensation of God's providence, the most mild and quiet people are most free from disturbance. Those only have every man's hand against them, who have theirs against every man."

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## CHAP. VIII.

*The last Nine Years of his Life, in Liberty and Enlargement, at Broad-Oak, from the year 1687.*

IN the latter end of the year 1685, when the stream ran so very strong against the dissenters, Mr. Henry, being in discourse with a very great man of the church of England, mentioned King Charles's indulgence in 1672, as that which gave rise to his stated preaching in a separate assembly; and added, if the present king James should in like manner give me leave, I would do the same again: to which that great man replied, "Never expect any such thing from him; for take my word for it, he hates you nonconformists in his heart." "Truly (said Mr. Henry) I believe it, and I think he doth not love you of the church of England neither." It was then little thought, that this right reverend person should have the honour, as he had soon after, to be one of the seven bishops committed to the tower by king James; as it was also far from any one's expectation, that the said king James should so quickly give liberty to the nonconformists. But we live in a world, wherein we are to think nothing strange; nor be surprised at any turn of the wheel, or "course of nature," as it is called, James iii. 6.

The measures then taken by king James's court and council were soon laid open, not only to view, but to contempt; being in a short time, by the overruling providence of God, broken and defeated. However, the indulgence granted to dissenters in April, 1687, must needs be a reviving to those, who for so many years had lain buried in silence and restraint. None who will suppose the case their own, can wonder that they should rejoice in it; though the design of it being manifest, they could not but "rejoice with trembling." Mr. Henry's sentiments of it were, "Whatever men's ends are in it, I believe God's end in it is to do us good."

Many said, Surely the dissenters will not embrace the liberty which is intended only for a snare to them. Mr. Henry read and considered the Letter of Advice to the Dissenters, at that juncture; but concluded, "Duty is ours, and events are God's." He remembered the experience he had had of the like in king Charles's time; and that it did good, and no hurt; and why might not this do so too? "All power is for edification, not for destruction." Did Jeremiah sit still in the court of the prison, because he had his discharge from the King of Babylon? Nay, did not Paul, when he was presented by his countrymen for preaching the gospel, appeal to Cæsar, and find more kindness at Rome than he did at Jerusalem? In short, the principle of his "conversation in the world" being not fleshy wisdom, or policy, but the grace of God," and particularly the grace of "simplicity and godly sincerity," he was willing to make the best of that which was, and to hope the best of the design and issue of it. Doubtless it was intended to introduce popery; but it is certain that nothing could arm people against popery more effectually, than the plain and powerful preaching of the gospel; and thus they who granted that liberty, were out-shot in their own bow, which manifestly appeared in the event. And as

those did good service to the Protestant religion among scholars, who wrote so many learned books against popery at that time, so those ministers did no less service among the common people, who are the strength and body of the nation, that preached so many good sermons to arm their hearts against that strong delusion : this Mr. Henry took all occasions to do, as the rest of the nonconformists generally did. How often would he commend his hearers, as Dr. Holland, divinity-professor in Oxford, was wont to do, "to the love of God, and the hatred of popery!"

Besides his preaching professedly to discover the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, which he would have taken occasion to do more fully, had he seen those he preached to, in any immediate danger of the infection, there could not be a more effectual antidote against popery, than instructing and confirming of people in the truth, as it is in Jesus; and advancing the knowledge of, and a value and veneration for, the Holy Scriptures; to which, how much Mr. Henry in his place did contribute, all that knew him will bear record. He used to observe, that the fall of Babylon followed, upon the free and open preaching of the everlasting gospel, Rev. xiv. 6—8. He apprehended this liberty likely to be of very short continuance, and to end in trouble. He thought, that his not using it, would not help to prevent the trouble; but, that his vigorous improvement of it would help to prepare for the trouble; therefore he set himself with all diligence, to make the best use of this gleam, both at home and abroad, on Sabbath-days, and week-days, to his power, yea, and beyond his power.

The great subject of debate at this time in the nation, was concerning the repeal of penal laws and tests. Mr. Henry's thoughts were, that if those against the dissenters were all repealed, he would rejoice in it, and be very thankful both to God and man; for he would sometimes say, without reflection upon

any, he could not but look upon them as a national sin : as for those against the papists, if our lawgivers see cause to repeal them in a regular way, I will endeavour, said he, to make the best of it, and to say, “ The will of the Lord be done.”

When King James came in his progress into that country, in September 1687, to court the compliments of the people, Mr. Henry joined with several others, in and about Whitchurch, Nantwich, and Wem, in an address to him, which was presented when he lay at Whitchurch ; the purport of which was, not to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to him and to his interest, but only to return him thanks for the liberty they had, with a promise to demean themselves quietly in the use of it.

Some time after, commissioners were sent into the country, to enquire after the trouble that dissenters had sustained by the penal laws ; and how the money that was levied upon them was disposed of ; little of it being paid into the Exchequer. They sent to Mr. Henry to have an account of his sufferings : he returned answer by letter, that he had indeed been fined some years before, for a conventicle, distrained upon, and his goods carried away, which all the country knew, and to which he referred himself. But being required particularly to give account of it upon oath, he said though he could be glad to see such instruments of trouble legally removed, yet he declined giving any further information concerning it ; having, as he wrote to the commissioners, “ long since, from his heart, forgiven all the agents, instruments, and occasions of it ; and having purposed never to say any thing more of it.”

It was on Tuesday, June 14, 1681, that he was disturbed at Weston, in Shropshire, when he was preaching on Psalm lxvi. 18 ; and on Tuesday, June 14, 1687, that day six years, he preached there again without disturbance, finishing what he was then prevented

from delivering, concerning prayer and thanksgiving, from verses 19, 20, "But verily God hath heard me,—blessed be God!"—This seventh year of their silence and restraint proved, through God's wonderful good providence, the year of release.

In May 1688, a new commission of the peace came down from the county of Flint, in which, by whose interest or procurement was not known, Mr. Henry was nominated a justice of peace for that county. It was no small surprise to him, to receive a letter from the clerk of the peace, directed to Philip Henry, Esquire, acquainting him with it, and appointing him when and where to come to be sworn. To which he returned answer, that he was very sensible of his unworthiness of the honour, and unfitness for the office which he was nominated to, and therefore desired to be excused: he was so, and did what he could, that it might not be spoken of in the country.

For two years after this liberty began, Mr. Henry continued his attendance at Whitewell chapel; and preached at his own house, only when there was no supply there, and in the evening of those days when there was. For doing thus, he was greatly clamoured against, by some of the rigid separatists, and called a dissembler, and one that halted between two, and the like. Thus, as he notes in his diary, one side told him he was the author of all the mischief in the country, in drawing people from the church; and the other side told him he was the author of all the mischief, in drawing people to the church: and "which of these (said he) shall I seek to please? Lord, neither, but thyself alone, and my own conscience; and while I can do that, I have enough."

In a sermon at Whitewell chapel, one Lord's-day in the afternoon, where he, his family, and many of his congregation were attending, much was said, with some keen reflections, to prove the dissenters



schismatics, and in a damnable state. When he came immediately after to preach at his own house, before he began his sermon, he expressed himself to this purpose: "Perhaps some of you may expect now, that I should say something in answer to what we have heard, by which we have been so severely charged; but truly, I have something else to do;" and so, without any further notice taken of it, went on to preach "Jesus Christ and him crucified."

It was with some fear and trembling that Mr. Henry received the tidings of the Prince of Orange's landing, November 5, 1688, as being somewhat in the dark concerning the clearness of his call, and dreading what might be the consequence of it. He used to say, "Give peace in our time, O Lord," was a prayer that he would heartily say his Amen to. But when secret things were brought to light, and a regular course was taken to fill the vacant throne with such a King and Queen, none rejoiced in it more heartily than he did. He celebrated the national thanksgiving for that great deliverance, with a sermon on that text, Rom. viii. 31, "What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us?"

Soon after that happy settlement, there were overtures made towards a comprehension of the moderate dissenters with the Church of England. This Mr. Henry most earnestly desired, if it could be had upon any terms less than sinning against his conscience; for never was any more averse to that which looked like a separation than he was, if he could possibly have helped it. His prayers were constant, and his endeavours as he had opportunity, that there might be some healing methods found out and agreed upon. But it is well known what was the cry of the clergy at that time. That forasmuch as the oaths, subscriptions, and ceremonies, were imposed only to keep out such men, they would never consent to their removal, to let them in again. This temper and

resolve, so contrary to what might have been expected, upon that happy and glorious revolution, did a little alter his sentiments in that matter; and he saw himself perfectly driven from them. Despairing, therefore, to see an accommodation, he set himself the more vigorously to improve the present liberty. In June, 1689, the act of indulgence passed, which not only tolerated, but allowed dissenters' meetings, and took them under the protection of the government.

Soon after which, as the ministers that preached at Whitewell chapel were uncertain in their coming, which kept his meeting at Broad-Oak at like uncertainties, to the frequent disappointment of many of his hearers that came from far, he was at last prevailed on to preach, at public time, every Lord's day: this he continued to do while he lived, much to his own satisfaction, and the satisfaction of his friends; yet he never in the least changed his judgment, as to the lawfulness of joining in the Common-prayer, but was still ready to do it occasionally.

It may be of use to give some account how he managed his ministerial work in the latter part of his time, wherein he had as signal tokens of the presence of God with him as ever; enabling him to "bring forth fruit in old age." Though what he did, he still did gratuitously, and would do so, yet he was not willing to have any constant assistance, nor had he any; so much was he in his element, when he was about his Master's work: it was his meat and drink to do it.

1. As to his constant Sabbath-work, he was uniform, and abundant in it. He began his morning family worship on the Lord's days at eight o'clock, when he read and expounded pretty largely, sang a psalm, and prayed; and many strove to come time enough to join with him in that service. He began in public just at nine o'clock, winter and summer. His meeting-place was an out-building of his own, near his house, fitted up very decently and conveniently for the purpose.

He began with prayer, then he sang the 100th Psalm, without reading the lines, next he read and expounded a chapter in the Old Testament in the morning, and the New Testament in the afternoon. He looked upon the public reading of the Scriptures in religious assemblies, to be an ordinance of God; and that it tended very much to the edification of people, to have what is read expounded to them. The bare reading of the word he used to compare to the throwing of a net into the water; but the expounding of it, is like the spreading out of that net, which makes it the more likely to catch fish; especially as he managed it with practical profitable observations. Some that have heard him read a chapter with this thought, how will he make such a chapter as this useful to us, have been surprised with such pertinent useful instructions, as they have owned to be as much for their edification as any sermon. And commonly when he had expounded a chapter, he would desire them when they came home, to read it over, and recollect some of those things that had been spoken to them out of it.

In expounding the Old Testament, he industriously sought for something in it concerning Christ. Take one instance: the last Sabbath that he spent with his children at Chester, in the public morning worship, he read and expounded the last chapter of Job: after he had gone through the chapter, and observed what he thought fit out of it, he expressed himself to this purpose: "When I have read a chapter in the Old Testament, I then enquire what there is in it that points at Christ, or is any way applicable to him. Here is in this chapter a great deal of Job; but is there nothing of Christ here? Yes; you have heard of the patience of Job, and have in him seen the end of the Lord. This in Job is applicable to Christ, that after he had patiently gone through his sufferings, he was appointed an intercessor for his unkind friends." ver. 8, Go to my servant Job, and my servant Job shall

pray for you, for him will I accept. "If any one hath an errand to God, let him go to Jesus Christ, and put it into his hand; for there is no acceptance to be hoped for with God, but by him, who is his beloved Son; not only *with* whom he is well pleased, but *in* whom, namely, with us in him: he hath made us accepted in the Beloved."

After the exposition of the chapter he sang a psalm, and commonly chose a psalm suitable to it, and would briefly tell his hearers how they might sing that psalm with understanding, and what affections of soul should be working towards God, in singing it; his hints of that kind were of great use, and contributed much to the right performance of that service. He often said, "The more singing of psalms there is in our families and congregations, on Sabbath-days, the more like they are to heaven, and the more there is in them of the everlasting sabbath."

After the sermon in the morning, he sang the 117th Psalm, without reading the lines. He intermitted at noon about an hour and a half, and on sacrament-days not so long; in which time he only took a little refreshment in his study, yet many of his friends partook of his temporal as well as spiritual things; as those did that followed Christ, of whom he was careful lest they should "faint by the way." The morning sermon was repeated, by a ready writer, to those that stayed in the meeting-place, as many did, and when that was done, he began the afternoon exercise; in which he not only read and expounded a chapter, but catechized the children, and expounded the catechism briefly before sermon. Thus did he go "from strength to strength," and from duty to duty, on Sabbath-days, running the ways of God's commandments with an enlarged heart. The variety and vivacity of his public services, made them exceedingly pleasant to all that joined with him, who never had cause to complain of his being tedious. He used to say, "Every minute of

sabbath-time is precious, and none of it is to be lost ;” and that he scarcely thought the Lord’s day well spent, if he were not weary in body at night ; wearied *with* his work, but not weary *of* it, as he used to distinguish. He would sometimes say to those about him, when he had gone through the duties of a sabbath, “ Well, if this be not the way to heaven, I do not know what is.” In pressing people to number their days, he would especially exhort them to number their Sabbath-days ; how many they have been, how ill they have been spent, how few may remain, that they may be spent better : and to help in the account he would say, that “ For every twenty years of our lives, we enjoy above a thousand sabbaths,” which must all be accounted for in the day of reckoning.

His constant preaching was very substantial, elaborate, and greatly to edification. He used to say, He could not starch in his preaching ; that is, he would not ; as knowing that where the language and expression is stiff, forced, and fine, as some call it, it does not reach the greatest part of the hearers. When he grew old he would say, Sure he might now take a greater liberty to talk in the pulpit ; that is, to speak familiarly to the people ; yet to the last he abated not in his preparations, nor ever delivered any thing raw and undigested ; much less any thing unbecoming the gravity and seriousness of the work. If his preaching was talking, it was talking to the purpose. His sermons were not common-place, but, even when his subjects were the most plain and trite, his management of them was usually peculiar and surprising. In those years, as formerly, he kept for the most part in a method for subjects, and was very seldom above one sabbath upon a text. His constant practice was, as it had been before, when he concluded a subject, to spend one sabbath in a brief rehearsal of the substance of many sermons which he had preached upon it ; which he called the clinching of the nail, that it might be as a

nail in a sure place. So very industrious was he, and no less ingenious in his endeavours, that his hearers might be "able, after his decease, to have these things always in remembrance," (2 Pet. i. 15); and, by the blessing of God, the effect did not altogether disappoint his expectation. In the latter years of his ministry, he often contrived the heads of sermons to begin with the same letter, or rather two and two of a letter; but he did not at all seem to affect or force it; only if it fell naturally and easily, he thought it a good help to memory, and of use, especially to the younger sort. And, he would say, the chief reason why he did it, was, because it is frequently observed in Scripture, particularly the book of Psalms: and though it is not a fashionable ornament of discourse, if it be a Scripture-ornament, that is sufficient to recommend it, at least to justify it against the imputation of childishness. But the excellency of his sermons lay chiefly in the enlargements, which were always very solid, grave, and judicious; but in expressing and marshalling his heads, he often condescended below his own judgment, to help his hearers' memory. He made short memorandums of some of his subjects, when he had finished them, in verse, a distich or two upon each sabbath's work; and gave them in writing to the young ones of his congregation, many of whom wrote them, learned them, and profited by them.

He constantly celebrated the Lord's Supper in his congregation once a month, and always to a considerable number of communicants. His administration of this ordinance was very solemn and affecting. Such as desired to be admitted to the Lord's Supper, he first discoursed with concerning their spiritual state, and how the case stood between God and their souls: not only to examine them, but to instruct, teach, and encourage them, as he saw occasion; gently leading those whom he discerned to be serious, though weak and timorous. He usually discoursed with them more



than once, as finding precept upon precept, and line upon line necessary ; but he did it with such mildness, humility, tenderness, and endeavour to make the best of every one, as greatly affected and won upon all. He was herein like our great Master, who “ can have compassion on the ignorant, and doth not despise the day of small things.”

But his admission of young people, out of the rank of catechumens into that of communicants, had a peculiar solemnity in it. When such as he catechised grew up to years of discretion, if he observed them to be intelligent and serious, he marked them out to be admitted to the Lord’s Supper. When he had a competent number of such, twelve or fifteen perhaps, or more, he ordered each of them to come to him severally, and discoursed with them of things belonging to their everlasting peace ; put it to their choice whom they would serve ; and endeavoured to affect them with those things with which by their catechism they had been made acquainted ; drawing them with the cords of love into the way, which is called holy. For several Lord’s days he catechised them in public. Then he appointed a day in the week before the ordinance ; when in a solemn assembly on purpose, he prayed for them, and preached a sermon to them, proper to their age and circumstances ; and so the following sabbath they were all received together at the Lord’s Supper. He has recorded in his diary, upon one of these occasions, as his heart’s desire and prayer for those who were thus admitted ; “ That it might be as the day of their espousals to the Lord Jesus, and that they might each of them have a wedding garment.”

The discipline he observed in his congregation was not such as he could have wished for, but the best he could get, considering what a scattered flock he had, which was his trouble, but it could not be helped. But whatever offence or breaches of christian peace happened, Mr. Henry’s peculiar excellency lay in restoring with the spirit of meekness ; which, with his

great prudence, love, and condescension, so much commanded the respect of his people, and won upon them, that there was universal satisfaction in all his management; and it might truly be said of him, as of David, (2 Sam. iii. 36,) that "whatsoever he did pleased all the people." This is an instance and evidence, that those ministers who rule by love and meekness, need no other laws or canons to rule by, than those of the Holy Scripture. "How forcible are right words!" Job vi. 25

He was very strict and serious in observing the public fasts appointed by authority, and called them a delight. He had seldom any one to assist him in carrying on the duties of those days. He began about nine o'clock, and never left the pulpit till about four in the afternoon, spending all that time in praying, expounding, singing, and preaching, to the admiration of all that heard him, who were generally more on such days than usual. And he was sometimes observed to be more warm and lively towards the latter end of the duties of a fast-day than at the beginning; as if his spirit was more willing and enlarged when the flesh was most weak. In all his performances on public fast-days, he attended to what was the proper work of the day. His prayers and pleadings with God, on those days, were especially for national mercies, and the pardon of national sins. How excellently did he order the cause before God, and fill his mouth with arguments, in his large and particular intercessions for the land, for the King, the government, the army, the navy, the church, and French protestants, &c. "It is most proper (said he), to preach of Christ on Lord's days, to preach of sin on fast-days, and to preach duty on both. Hypocrisy in hearers, and flattery in preachers, (as he would sometimes say,) is bad at any time, but it is especially abominable upon a day of humiliation."

He preached a great many lectures in the

neighbourhood, some stated, some occasional, in supplying which he was very indefatigable. He has sometimes preached a lecture, rode eight or nine miles, and preached another, and the next day two more. To quicken himself to diligence, he would often say, "Our opportunities are passing away, and we must work while it is day, for the night cometh." He took all occasions in his lectures abroad, to possess the minds of people with sober and moderate principles, and to stir them up to the serious regard of those things wherein we are all agreed. "We are met here together," said he in an exhortation with which he often began his lecture, "not because we think ourselves better than others, but because we desire to be better than we are."

He was very happy in the choice of subjects for his week-day lectures. At one which was stated, he preached against errors in general, from James i. 16, "Do not err, my beloved brethren:" particularly from divers other scriptures he shewed, that we must not err concerning God and Christ, and the Spirit; concerning sin and repentance, faith and good works; concerning God's ordinances; concerning grace and peace, and afflictions and prosperity, and the things of the life to come. At the monthly lectures at his own house, he chose to preach upon the four last things—Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell, in many particulars; but commonly with a new text for every sermon. When he had in many sermons finished the first of the four, one that used to hear him sometimes, enquiring of his progress in his subject, asked him if he had done with death, meaning his subject concerning death, to which he pleasantly replied, "No, I have not done with him yet; I must have another turn with him, and he will give me a fall; but I hope to have the victory at last." He would sometimes remove the lectures in the country from one place to another, for the benefit of those who could not travel. Once,

having adjourned a lecture to a new place, he began it with a sermon on Acts xvii. 6, "These men, that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also;" in which he shewed how false the charge is, as they meant it; for religion doth not disturb the peace of families or societies, doth not cause any disorder or unquietness, &c. And yet in another sense there is a great truth in it; that when the gospel comes in power to any soul, it "turns the world upside down" in that soul, such is the change it makes there. All this he did gratuitously, not being burdensome to any; nay, he was best pleased when nothing was got for his entertainment at the places where he preached, but he came home, though some miles, fasting; it was a trouble to him to see his friends careful about much serving, though it was out of their respect to him.

As he was an excellent preacher himself, so he was an exemplary hearer of the word when others preached, though every way his inferiors; so reverent, serious, and attentive was he in hearing, and so observant of what was spoken. I have heard him say, that he knew one, and I suppose it was as Paul knew a man in Christ, who could truly say, to the glory of God, that for forty years he had never slept at a sermon. He was diligent also to improve what he had heard by meditation, repetition, prayer, and discourse. He was a very great encourager of young ministers who were humble and serious, though their abilities and performances were mean. He has noted in his diary this saying of a godly man, a hearer of his, as that which affected him, 'I find it easier to go six miles to hear a sermon, than to spend one quarter of an hour in meditating upon it and praying it over in secret, as I should, when I come home.'

In the years 1687, and in 1688, he married all his five children; the three eldest in four months time, in the year 1687, and the other two in a year and a half

after ; so many swarms (as he used to call them) out of his hive ; and all not only with his full consent, but to his abundant comfort and satisfaction. He would say, he thought it the duty of parents to study to oblige their children in that affair. And though no children could be more easy and at rest in a father's house than his, yet he would sometimes say concerning them, as Naomi to Ruth (*ch.* iii. 1,) " Shall I not seek rest for thee?" Two advices he used to give to his children and others, in their choice of that relation, namely, " Keep within the bounds of profession, such as one may charitably hope is from a good principle ; and look at suitableness, in age, quality, education, temper, &c." He would commonly say to his children, with reference to that choice, " Please God and please yourselves, and you shall never displease me ;" and he greatly blamed those parents, who concluded matches for their children without their consent. He never aimed at great things in the world for his children, but sought for them, in the first place, the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof. He used to mention this saying of a pious gentlewoman, who had many daughters, " The care of most people is, how to get good husbands for their daughters ; but my care is to fit my daughters to be good wives ; and then let God provide for them." In this as in other things, Mr. Henry steered by the principle, " That a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth." And it pleased God so to order it, that all his children were disposed of, into circumstances very agreeable and comfortable, both for life and godliness. He was greatly affected with the goodness of God to him therein ; without any forecast or contrivance of his own. " The country," says he in his diary, " take notice of it ; what then shall I render?"

All his four daughters were married at Whitewell-Chapel, and he preached a wedding-sermon for each

of them, in his own family afterwards. He would often tell his friends, that those who desire, in the married condition, to live in the favour of God, must enter upon that condition in the fear of God ; for it is an ill omen to stumble at the threshold. He had much comfort in all his children and their yoke-fellows, especially as four of the five families which branched out of his, were by Divine Providence settled at Chester.

His youngest daughter was married April 2, 1688, the same day of the year and week, as he observes in his diary, and in the same place that he was married to his dear wife, twenty-eight years before ; upon which this is his remark, " I cannot desire for them, that they should receive more from God than we have received, in that relation and condition ; but I would desire, and do desire, that they may do more for God in it, than we have done." His usual compliment to his new-married friends, was, " Others wish you all happiness, I wish you all holiness, and then there is no doubt but you will have all happiness."

When the marriage of the last of his daughters was concluded on, he thus writes : " Is Joseph gone, and Simeon gone, and must Benjamin go also ? We will not say that all these things are against us, but for us. If we must in this merciful way be bereaved of our children, let us be bereaved ; and God turn it for good to them ; as we know he will, if they love and fear his name." And when he parted with her to the house of her husband, he thus writes : " We have sent her away, not as Laban said he would have sent his daughters away, with mirth, and songs, with tabret and harp, but with prayers and tears, and hearty good wishes ; and now, (says he in his diary,) we are alone again, as we were in our beginning ; God be better to us than twenty children !" Upon the same occasion he thus writes to a dear relation ; " We are now left as we were, one and one, and yet but one · the Lord, I trust,



who has brought us thus far, will enable us to finish well; and then all will be well, and not till then."

He often mentioned as a matter of his great comfort, and his desire that it might continue, the love and unity that was among his children; and that, as he writes, the transplanting of them into new relations, had not lessened that love, but rather increased it; for this he often gave thanks to the God of love; noting from Job i. 4, that the children's love to one another is the parent's comfort and joy. In his last will, this is the prayer which he puts up for his children, "That the Lord would build them up in holiness, and continue them still in brotherly love, as a bundle of arrows which cannot be broken."

When his children were removed from him, he was a daily intercessor at the throne of grace for them and their families. Still the burnt-offerings were offered according to the number of them all. He used to say, "Surely the children of so many prayers will not miscarry." Their particular circumstances of affliction and danger, were sure to be mentioned by him with suitable petitions. The greatest affliction he saw in his family, was the death of his dear daughter-in-law, Catharine, the only daughter of Samuel Hardware, Esq. who, about a year and a half after she was transplanted into his family, to which she was the greatest comfort and ornament imaginable, died of the small-pox in child-bed, upon the thanksgiving-day for King William's accession, Feb. 14, 1689. She died but a few weeks after Mr. Henry had married the last of his daughters, upon which marriage he had said: "Now, we have a full lease; and God only knows which life will drop first." She comforted herself in the extremity of her illness with this sentiment, "Well, when I come to heaven, I shall see that I could not have been without this affliction." She had been for some time before under some fears as to her spiritual state, but

the clouds were through grace dispelled, and she finished her course with joy, and a cheerful expectation of the glory to be revealed. When she lay ill, Mr. Henry being in fear, not only for her, but the rest of his children in Chester, who had none of them past that perilous distemper, wrote thus to his son, on the evening of the Lord's day; "I have just done the public work of this day, wherein, before some scores of witnesses, many of whom, I dare say, are not a little concerned for you, I have absolutely, freely, and unreservedly given you all up to the good-will and pleasure of our heavenly Father, waiting what he will do with us; for good I am sure we have received, and shall we not receive evil also?" He preached at Chester, upon occasion of that sad breach in his family, on Job x. 2. "Shew me wherefore thou contendest with me."

When two of his children lay dangerously ill, after he had been earnestly praying for them, he wrote thus in his diary: "If the Lord will be pleased to grant me my request this time concerning my children, I will not say, as the beggars at our door used to do, I will never ask any thing of him again; but on the contrary, he shall hear oftener from me than ever; and I will love God the better, and love prayer the better, as long as I live." He used to say, Tradesmen take it ill, if those who are in their books go to another shop; and while we are so much indebted to God for past mercies, we are bound to attend him for further mercies.

As he was an intercessor for his children, at the throne of grace, so he was upon all occasions a remembrancer to them, both by word and letter, to quicken them to what is good. How often did he inculcate this upon them: "Love one another, and the God of love and peace will be with you. Do all you can, while you are together, to help one another to heaven, that you may be together there for ever, and with the Lord." When the families of his children were in

health and peace, he wrote thus to them: "It was one of Job's comforts in his prosperity, that his children loved one another, and feasted together: the same is ours in you, which God continue. But you will not be offended, if we pray that you may none of you 'curse God in your hearts.' Remember the wheel is always in motion, and the spoke that is uppermost will be under, and therefore mix trembling always with your joy."

He much rejoiced in the visits of his children, and made that the subject of his thanksgiving, as he did other things, which were the matter of his rejoicing. His usual saying at parting, was, "This is not the world we are to be together in, and it is well it is not; but there is such a world before us." And his usual prayer was, "That our next meeting might be either in heaven, or further on in our way towards it."

He had in eight years time, twenty-four grandchildren born, some by each of his children, concerning whom he would often bless God, that they were all "the sealed ones of the God of heaven, and enrolled among the lambs." On the birth-day of his second grand-child, at a troublesome time as to public affairs, he thus writes, "I have now seen my children's children, let me also see peace upon Israel; and then I will say, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart." Some were much affected, when he baptized two of his grand-children together at Chester, publicly, and preached on Gen. xxxiii. 5. "They are the children which God hath graciously given thy servant." He observed in what a pious, gracious manner Jacob speaks. He had spoken good sense, if he had only said, "They are my children;" but then he had spoken like Jacob, like one that had seen the face of God. Though our speech be not always of grace, yet it must be always *with* grace. There is a kind of language, the air of which speaks the language of Canaan: Christians should speak like Christians.

Soon after his children were married, his house was filled again with the children of several of his friends, whom he was, by much importunity, persuaded to take to board with him. All that knew him, thought it very desirable that such a master of a family, should have a large one. He was at first almost necessitated to it, by the death of his friend and kinsman, Mr. Benyon of Ash, who left his children to his care. Some he took gratuitously, or for small consideration; and when, by reason of the advances of age he could not go about doing good so much as he had done, he laid out himself to do the more at home. He kept a teacher to attend to their school-learning; and they had the benefit, not only of his inspection in that, but, which was much more, of his family-worship, sabbath-instructions, catechising and daily converse. Nothing but the hopes of good to the rising generation, could have prevailed with him to take this trouble upon him. He would often say, "We have a busy house, but there is a rest remaining. We must be doing something in the world while we are in it; but this fashion will not last long; methinks I see it passing away."

Some who had gone through a course of university-learning, at private academies, desired to spend some time in his family, before their entrance upon the ministry; that they might have the benefit, not only of his public and family-instructions, but of his learned and pious converse, in which, as he was thoroughly furnished for it, he was very free and communicative. The great point he pressed upon those who intended to be ministers, was to study the scriptures, and make them familiar. For this purpose he recommended to them the study of Hebrew, that they might be able to search the scriptures in the original. He also advised them to the use of an interleaved Bible, wherein to insert such expositions and observations, as occur occasionally in sermons or other books; which he would say, are sometimes more happy and considerable,

than those which are found in the professed commentators. When some young men desired the happiness of coming into his family, he would tell them, "You come to me, as Naaman to Elisha, expecting that I should do this and the other for you; but alas, I can but say as he did, 'Go, wash in Jordan;' go, study the scriptures. I profess to teach no other learning but the scripture-learning." It was but a little before he died, that in reading Isa. l. he observed from ver. 4, "The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, &c." that the true learning of a gospel minister consists not in being able to talk Latin fluently, and to dispute in philosophy, but in being able to "speak a word in a season" to weary souls. He that knows how to do that well, is a learned minister.

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## CHAP. IX.

### *His Sickness, Death, and Burial.*

IN the time of his health, he made death very familiar to himself, by frequent and pleasing thoughts and meditations of it; and endeavoured to make it so to his friends by speaking often of it. His letters and discourses shewed his constant expectation of death; thus did he learn to die daily: and it is hard to say, whether it was more easy to him to speak, or uneasy to his friends to hear him speak, of leaving the world. This reminds me of a passage I was told by a worthy Scotch minister, Mr. Patrick Adair, that visiting Mr. Durham, of Glasgow, in his last sickness, which was long and lingering; he said to him, Sir, I hope you have so set all in order, that you will have nothing else to do but to die: "I bless God," said Mr. Durham, "I have not had that to do neither these many years."

Such is the comfort of dying daily, when we come to die indeed.

Mr. Henry's constitution was tender, and yet by the blessing of God upon his great temperance, care of his diet, and moderate exercise by walking in the air, he for many years enjoyed a good measure of health, which he used to call, "The sugar that sweetens all temporal mercies;" for which, therefore, we ought to be very thankful, and of which we ought to be very careful. He had sometimes violent fits of the cholic, which would be very afflictive for the time. Towards his latter end he was sometimes distressed with a pain, which his doctor thought might arise from the stone. Being once recovered from a sharp fit, he said to one of his friends, that asked him how he did, "He hoped, by the grace of God, he should now be able to give one blow more to the devil's kingdom;" and often professed, he did not desire to live a day longer than he might do God some service. He said to another, when he perceived himself recovering, "Well, I thought I had been putting into harbour, but find I must to sea again." He was sometimes suddenly taken with fainting fits, which when he recovered from, he would say, "Dying is but little more."

When he was in the sixty-third year of his age, he numbered the days of it, from August 24, 1693, to August 24, 1694: when he had finished it he thus wrote in his diary: "This day finishes my commonly dying year, which I have numbered the days of; and should now apply my heart more than ever to heavenly wisdom." He was much pleased with that expression of our English liturgy, in the office of burial, and frequently used it, "In the midst of life we are in death."

The increasing infirmities of age very little abated his vigour and liveliness in preaching, but he seemed to renew his youth as the eagle's; as those that are



“planted in the house of the Lord, who still bring forth fruit in old age ;” not so much to show that they are upright, as “to show that the Lord is upright,” Psalm xcii. 14, 15. But in his latter years, travelling was very troublesome to him, and he would say, as Mr. Dod used to do, that when he thought like Samson, to shake himself as at other times, he found his hair was cut. His sense of this led him to preach an occasional sermon not long before he died, on John xxi. 18. “When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself.” &c. Another occasional sermon he preached when he was old, for his own comfort, and the comfort of his aged friends, on Psalm lxxi. 17, 18. “O God, thou hast taught me from my youth,” &c. He observed there, that it is a blessed thing to be taught of God from our youth ; those that have been thus taught, ought to declare his wondrous works all their days ; and those that have done this, may comfortably expect, that when they are old He will not forsake them.

For some years before he died, he used to complain of habitual weariness, contracted, he thought, by standing to preach immediately after riding, sometimes very uneasily, and in inconvenient places. He would say, every minister was not cut out for an itinerant ; and sometimes the manifest attention and affection of people in hearing, led him to enlarge both in length and fervency, more than his strength could bear. Not many months before he died, he wrote thus to a relation, who enquired concerning his health, “I am always habitually weary, and expect no other, till I lie down in the bed of spices ; and, blessed be God ! so the grave is to all the saints.” While some of his friends persuaded him to spare himself, he would say, “It’s time enough to rest when I am in the grave ; what were candles made for, but to burn ?”

It does not appear that he had any particular presages of his death ; but there were many instances of

his actual gracious expectation of it, more than ordinary for some time before. The last visit he made to his children in Chester, was in July, 1695, almost a year before he died, when he spent a Lord's-day there, and preached on Philemon 25. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit." By "grace," he understood, not so much the good-will of God towards us, as the good work of God in us, called the grace of Christ, both because he is the author and finisher of it, and because he is the pattern of it. Now "the choicest gift we can ask of God for our friends is, that this grace of our Lord Jesus Christ may be with their spirits: how earnest therefore should we be in praying to God for grace, both for ourselves and for our relations!" The Thursday following being kept as a fast in his son's congregation at Chester, he preached on Luke xix. 41. "He beheld the city and wept over it," which proved his farewell to the town, as the former was his farewell to his friends and relations in it.

Not many weeks before he died, he wrote thus to one of his children, "We are well here, thanks be to God, and are glad to hear that you and yours are well also: God in mercy continue it! but why should we be well always? Do we deserve it? Are there no mixtures in our obedience? Are there any persons or families, at whose door sickness and death never knocked? Must the earth be forsaken for us, or the rock removed out of its place? Is it not enough that we be dealt with according to the manner of men? and that we have a promise, that it shall end well, everlastingly well?"

To another of his children, about the same time he writes, 'We are sensible that we decline apace, but the best of it is, that as time goes, eternity comes; and we are in good hope, through grace, that it will be a comfortable eternity.'

In April, 1696, a few weeks before he died, his

son's father-in-law, Robert Warburton, Esq. was gathered to his grave in peace, in a good old age: upon the tidings of his death, Mr. Henry wrote thus to his son: "Your fathers, where are they? your father-in-law gone, and your own father going; but you have a good Father in heaven, who lives for ever." He was wont sometimes to subscribe his letters, "Your ever-loving, but not ever-living father."

It was not a month before he died, that in a letter to his friend and brother, Mr. Tallents, of Shrewsbury, he had this passage: 'Methinks it is strange, that it should be your lot and mine, to abide so long on earth by the stuff, when so many of our friends are dividing the spoil above; but God will have it so; and to be willing to live in obedience to his holy will, is as true an act of grace, as to be willing to die when he calls, especially when life is labour and sorrow. But when it is labour and joy, service to his name, and some measure of success and comfort in serving him; when it is to stop a gap, and stem a tide, it is to be rejoiced in; it is heaven upon earth; nay, one would think, by the Psalmist's oft repeated plea, Psalm vi. xxx. lxxxviii. cxv. cxviii., that it were better than to be in heaven itself; and can that be?'

A little before his sickness and death, he had several of his children, and his children's children about him, at Broad-Oak, with whom he was much refreshed, and very cheerful? but often spoke of the fashion he was in, as passing away; and told them, he should be there but awhile to bid them welcome. He was observed frequently in prayer, to beg of God, that "he would make us ready for that, which would come certainly, and might come suddenly" One asked him how he did, he answered, "I find the chips fly off apace, the tree will be down shortly."

The last time he administered the Lord's Supper, a fortnight before he died, he closed the administration with that Scripture, 1 John iii. 2. "It doth not yet

appear what we shall be;" not yet, but it will shortly.

The sabbath but one before he died, being in the course of his exposition come to that difficult part of Scripture, the xlth of Ezekiel, and the following chapters; he said he would endeavour to explain those prophecies to them; and added, "If I do not now, I never shall:" and he observed, that the only prophetic sermon which our Lord Jesus preached, was but a few days before he died. This, many of his hearers not only reflected upon afterwards, but took notice of at that time with concern, as having something in it more than ordinary.

On the Lord's Day, June 21, 1696, he went through the work of the day with his usual vigour and liveliness. He was then preaching over the first chapter of St. Peter's Second Epistle, and was that day on those words, "Add to your faith virtue," ver. 5. He took virtue for christian courage and resolution in the exercise of faith; and the last thing he mentioned, in which Christians have need of courage, was in dying; for, as he often used to say, "It is a serious thing to die, and to die is a work by itself." That day he gave notice, both morning and afternoon, with much affection, of the public fast, which was appointed by authority the Friday following, June 26, pressing his hearers, as he used to do upon such occasions, to come in a prepared frame, to the solemn services of that day.

The Tuesday following, June 23, he rose at six o'clock, according to his custom, after a better night's sleep than ordinary, and in his wonted health. Between seven and eight o'clock he performed family-worship in the usual manner; he expounded very largely, the former half of the civth Psalm, and sang it, but was shorter in prayer than usual, being then (as it was thought) taken ill. "Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord when he comes, shall find so doing!"

Immediately after prayer he retired to his chamber, not saying any thing of his illness, but was soon after found upon his bed in great extremity of pain, in his back, breast, and bowels ; it seemed to be a complicated fit of the stone and cholic, with very great extremity. The means used to give him relief were ineffectual ; he had not the least intermission or remission of pain, neither up, nor in bed, but was in a continual agony. He said sometimes, "God's Israel may find Jordan rough ; but there is no remedy ; they must go through it to Canaan ;" and he would speak of a good man who used to say, he was not so much afraid of death as of dying. We know they are not the godly people, part of the description of whose condition it is, that there are no bands in their death : and yet the end of the godly is peace, their death gain, and they have hope in it.

In this extremity he was still looking up to God, and calling upon him who is a present help in the needful hour. When the violence of his pain forced groans and complaints from him, he would presently correct himself with a patient and quiet submission to his heavenly Father, and a cheerful acquiescence in his will. "I am ashamed, said he, of these groans ; I want virtue, O for virtue now, when I have need of it ! (referring to his subject the Lord's Day before.) Forgive me that I groan thus, and I will endeavour to silence them ; but indeed 'my stroke is heavier than my groaning.' It is true that Mr. Baxter said in his pain, there is no disputing against sense. It was his trouble, as it was Mr. Baxter's, that by reason of his bodily pain, he could not express his inward comfort ; however, with that, God graciously strengthened him in his soul. He said to those about him, they must remember what instructions and counsels he had given them when he was in health ; for now he could say but little to them, only refer them to what he had said, as to that which he would live and die by.

It was two or three hours after he was taken ill,

before he would suffer a messenger to be sent to Chester for his son, and the doctor, saying he should either be better or dead before they could come, but at last said, as the prophet did to his importunate friends, "Send." About eight o'clock that evening they came, and found him in the same extremity of pain, which he had been in all day. And nature, being spent with his constant and indefatigable labours in the work of the Lord, now sank under its burden, and was quite disabled to grapple with so many hours incessant pain. What further means were then used proved fruitless. He apprehended himself going apace, and said to his son, when he came in, "O son, you are welcome to a dying father! I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." His pain continued very acute, but he had peace within. "I am tormented (said he once), but blessed be God! not in this flame;" and soon after "I am all on fire," when, at the same time, his extreme parts were cold, but presently added, "Blessed be God! it is not the fire of hell." To some of his neighbours who came in to see him, he said, "O make sure work for your souls, by getting an interest in Christ while you are in health; for if I had that work to do now, what would become of me? but I bless God I am satisfied." It was a caution he was often wont to give, "See to it, that your work be not undone, when your time is done, lest you be undone for ever."

Towards ten or eleven o'clock that night, his pulse and sight began to fail; of the latter he himself took notice, and inferred from it the near approach of his dissolution. He took an affectionate farewell of his dear yoke-fellow, with a thousand thanks for all her love, care, and tenderness; and left a blessing for all his dear children, their dear yoke-fellows, and little ones, that were absent. He said to his son, who sat under his head; "Son, the Lord bless you, and grant that you may do worthily in your generation, and be more



serviceable to the church of God than I have been." Such was his great humility to the last. And when his son replied, "O, Sir, pray for me, that I may but tread in your steps;" he answered, "Yea, follow peace and holiness, and let them say what they will." More he would have said, to bear his dying testimony to the way in which he had walked, but nature was spent, and he had not strength to express it.

His understanding and speech continued almost to the last breath, and in his dying agonies he was still calling upon God, and committing himself to him. The last words he said, when he found himself ready to depart, were, "O death, where is thy ——"? with that his speech faltered, and within a few minutes (after about sixteen hours illness) he quietly breathed out his precious soul, into the hands of his dear Redeemer, whom he had trusted, and faithfully served in the work of the ministry, about forty-three years. He departed betwixt twelve and one o'clock in the morning of June 24, 1696, Midsummer-day, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Happy, thrice happy he, to whom such a sudden change was no surprise, and who could triumph over death, as a stingless, disarmed enemy, even when he made so fierce an onset! He had often spoken of it as his desire, that if it were the will of God, "he might not outlive his usefulness;" and it pleased God to grant him his desire, and to give him a short passage from the pulpit to the kingdom; from the height of his usefulness, to receive the recompense of reward.

After the account we have given of his great usefulness, it is easy to imagine what sorrow and mourning there was among his friends, when they heard that the Lord had taken away their master from their head. One that lived so much desired, could not but die much lamented.

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# CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY.

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## THE LIFE OF JOHN OWEN, D.D.

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LIFE OF

JOHN OWEN, D.D.

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*From his birth to his presentation to the living of  
Fordham.*

JOHN OWEN, the second son of Dr. Henry Owen, was born at the parsonage, Stadham, Oxfordshire, in the year 1616. He received his early education at a private school in Oxford; and such was his industry and proficiency, that, when only twelve years of age, he was admitted a student of Queen's College.

He pursued his studies with incredible diligence, allowing himself for several years not above four hours sleep in a night, so that he soon had made considerable progress in learning. Sometimes he would, for the benefit of his health, use some recreations, but chiefly such as were violent. It is impossible not to applaud the principle which this application discovers. The more a student can redeem from sleep, and other indulgences, so much the better. But it is not every constitution that is capable of such an expenditure; and many an individual, in struggling beyond his strength for the prize of literary renown, has procured it at the expense of his life, or of the irreparable injury of his future comfort. Owen himself is said to have declared afterwards, that he would gladly part with all the learning he had acquired in younger life, by sitting up late at study, if he could but recover the health he lost by it. He who prefers mercy to sacrifice, requires nothing in ordinary circumstances beyond what the human system is fairly capable of bearing. While Owen continued in the college, his whole aim and ambition was to raise himself to some eminence in church or state,

It was his own acknowledgment afterwards, concerning himself, that being naturally of an aspiring mind, affecting popular applause, and very desirous of honour and preferment, he applied himself very closely to his studies, to accomplish the ends he had so much in view; and he was ready to confess, with shame and sorrow, that then the honour of God, or serving his country, otherwise than he might thereby serve himself, were most remote from his intentions.

His support at the university was derived chiefly from a wealthy relative in Wales, who intended to make him his heir. This intention was frustrated by the subsequent piety and decision of his nephew. After acquiring the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, Owen continued at college till the age of twenty-one.

The imposition of new laws and regulations on the university by archbishop Laud, was the immediate occasion of his leaving Oxford. To these he could not conscientiously submit, and therefore withdrew from that celebrated seat of learning; and having obtained orders from bishop Bancroft, he became chaplain and tutor in the families of sir Robert Dormer and lord Lovelace successively.

During the latter part of his residence at college his mind became seriously impressed with the importance of divine truth. His convictions of sin were strong and irresistible. He was alarmed and terrified at the apprehension of his danger. He sank at length into a state of settled despondency, which continued for three months. He shunned society, and could scarcely be induced to speak; nor was it, till five years had elapsed, that he obtained true peace and joy through believing. Conviction must precede conversion; but to what degree the painfulness of that conviction shall extend is determined only by God: nor ought an individual to judge of the sincerity of his own, or another's conversion, simply by the degree of alarm or terror he may

have felt. Conviction of sin is produced by the application of the divine word to the conscience of the sinner. Thus Dr. Owen himself describes the power of truth on the conscience. "Whilst men have been full of love to their sins, at peace in them, enjoying benefit and advantage by them, the word coming upon them in its power, hath awed, disquieted, and terrified them, taken away their peace, destroyed their hopes, and made them, as it were, whether they would or no, that is, contrary to their desires, inclinations, and carnal affections, to conclude, that if they comply not with what is proposed unto them in that word, which before they took no notice of, nor had any regard unto, they must be presently or eternally miserable. Conscience is the territory or dominion of God in man, which he hath so reserved unto himself that no human power can possibly enter into it, or dispose of it any wise. But in this work of conviction of sin, the word of God, the scripture, entereth into the conscience of the sinner, takes possession of it, disposeth it unto peace or trouble by its laws or rules, and no otherwise. Where it gives disquietness, all the world cannot give it peace; and where it speaks peace, there is none can give it trouble."

The truth of these observations Dr. Owen had verified by his own painful experience, and thus, under the guidance of the Spirit, he became admirably qualified to instruct others. There can be no doubt that much of the distress felt in the early stages of conversion, is occasioned as well by the temptations of Satan as by the alarms of conscience. Satan is ever on the alert to prevent the desertion of his vassals from his ranks, and hence, when the mind of a sinner is awakened to his guilty and deplorable condition, he plies every possible temptation, and uses every conceivable stratagem, in order to hinder its illumination and sanctification. On this point Dr. Owen's remarks are at once scriptural and just, and are the result of his own dear-bought experience. "With some, Satan



employs all his engines, useth all his methods of serpentine subtlety, and casts in his fiery darts, so to disquiet, discompose, and deject them, as that they can retain no comfortable views of Christ, or his glory. Hence arise fears, doubts, disputes, uncertainties, with various disconsolations. Hereon they cannot apprehend the love of Christ, nor be sensible of any interest they have therein, or any refreshing persuasions that they are accepted with him. If such things sometimes shine and beam into their minds, yet they quickly vanish and disappear. Fears that they are rejected and cast off by him, that he will not receive them here nor hereafter, do come in their place; hence they are filled with anxieties and despondences, under which it is impossible they should have any clear view of his glory."

In this state of spiritual distress Owen quitted the family of lord Lovelace, and proceeded to London, where he hired private lodgings in the Charterhouse Yard. Soon after his arrival in London, "he went one Lord's day," observes his original and anonymous biographer, "with a friend, thinking to hear that eminent divine, Mr. Calamy, but by some extraordinary occasion that worthy person was hindered from preaching, upon which many went out of the church. This disappointment added much to Mr. Owen's trouble, and his friend endeavoured to carry him elsewhere to hear another person of eminence; and so much the rather, that it was not certain whether there would be any body at that time to supply Mr. Calamy's place; but Mr. Owen being conveniently seated, and too much indisposed to walk any farther, he resolved to stay awhile longer, and if no preacher came, to return to his lodgings.

"At last a country minister, altogether unknown to Mr. Owen, as it seems he was to the parish, came up to the pulpit, and after a very serious and fervent prayer, took for his text these words, 'Why are ye

fearful, O ye of little faith?' Matt. viii. 26. The very reading of the words surprised Mr. Owen, who immediately put up a short ejaculation, that God would be pleased, by that minister, to speak to his condition. His prayer was graciously heard; for Providence so ordered it, that the minister raised and answered those very objections which Mr. Owen had commonly formed against himself; and what was remarkable, he managed them in the same method which Mr. Owen had frequently done in his own mind, though without effect: but it pleased the gracious God so to bless this sermon to him, though otherwise a plain, ordinary, familiar discourse, that it resolved his doubts, quieted his conscience, and laid the foundation of that spiritual peace and comfort which he afterwards enjoyed during the course of his life.

"This appeared to have been by the immediate direction of Heaven; for Mr. Owen could never hear of the minister's name, nor where he lived, though he made the most diligent inquiry.

"Thus the great Master of assemblies thought fit to prepare this eminent person for his future work in the ministry. He pulled down his natural ambition, humbled him under his own mighty hand, and laid the foundation deep, answerable to that high superstructure of grace which He afterwards raised upon it. He thoroughly convinced him, that the highest degree of human learning and oratory, signified little towards building up the saints in their most holy faith, without the concurring influences of the Holy Spirit; and that, however skilful the planter and waterer may be, the increase must come from God alone, who ministers seed to the sower, and gives a blessing with it.

"This was a very convincing and seasonable caution for such a one as Mr. Owen, who had so large a measure of natural and acquired abilities, not to value himself upon them, but to let him see the vanity of his ambition to make himself considerable in the church

by his indefatigable study ; for he was hereby taught, that it was not the enticing words of man's wisdom, but the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that could make a successful preacher, 1 Cor. ii. 4."

He now began to exert himself in his Master's cause. When or where he commenced his ministerial labours cannot be discovered. The probability is, that he preached occasionally in London, and employed the chief part of his time in writing in defence of the truth. In March, 1642, he published a quarto volume, entitled, "Display of Arminianism," &c. The various important and intricate points involved in the Quinquarticular controversy, had doubtless exercised his own mind ; hence he was induced to examine and publish his views on the subject, both for his own edification and the benefit of the public. The work was dedicated to the "committee of religion," and was ordered by the committee of the house of commons for "regulating the printing and publishing of books," to be printed and published under their direction.

The publication of this work brought Owen into notice. He was shortly afterwards presented to the living of Fordham, in Essex, by the committee for "purging scandalous ministers out of the church." In this retired parish he entered on the more public labours of the ministry, and was rendered eminently successful.

*From his presentation to the living of Fordham, to his visits to Ireland and Scotland.*

The duties of Owen's new station were both numerous and arduous. The parish and its neighbourhood had been greatly neglected. Ignorance and irreligion awfully prevailed. He endeavoured, both in public and private, to instruct and lead his hearers to Christ. He devoted a considerable portion of his time to pastoral visitation, and catechised the families of his flock in their respective houses. He employed his time in

private, not only in preparing for his public duties, but also in writing such works as the necessities of the country or his parish required.

He published, in 1643, a treatise on the "Duty of Pastors and People distinguished," &c. The latter part of the work contains some important reflections on the personal obligations and duties of every believer to assist in spreading "the truth as it is in Jesus." The work of evangelizing mankind has been too often considered as the duty of ministers exclusively. To the practical influence of this sentiment may be attributed much of the ignorance which prevails in every country. Ministers are comparatively few, and their efforts are necessarily confined to particular places. The help of the serious laity, the pious and devoted followers of Christ, of every age and condition in life, is absolutely required. Among the ignorant and the young, the sick and dying, in every neighbourhood, there is abundant scope for the united energies of all the friends of the Redeemer. "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit (to be profitable) withal." "Freely ye have received, freely give." "Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord has done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee." The individual and associated efforts of the whole christian community must be brought to bear on the entire mass of ignorance and wretchedness, before any extensive reformation can be expected to take place in this or any other country.

"Lay agency," says an eminent divine, "is of incalculable moment. A minister cannot undertake every thing himself; he must not fritter away his time, he must not too much widen the field of his personal effort; he must concentrate, he must influence, he must be the centre to a hundred hands and minds moving around him. This is more especially the case in populous places, where the actual efforts of any one or

two ministers would be lost in detail, and his public instructions would be hasty and undigested effusions if he attempted individual instruction. Wisdom, therefore, must be exercised. Others must be set to work, and a machinery be erected, of which he only takes the general guidance." By this combined and devoted exertion of ministers and their people, ignorance will be removed, and vice checked; religion will be spread, souls will be saved, the church of Christ increased, and an everlasting revenue of praise be presented at the throne of the Eternal. Among the means of spiritual instruction, few are of more importance than that of catechising the young. To this object Mr. Owen bent the energies of his mind. He was deeply affected with the spiritual condition of his flock. The following quotation from the preface to his little work, "The Principles of the Doctrine of Christ unfolded in two Short Catechisms," illustrates the spirit of this christian pastor; it is addressed to his "loving neighbours and christian friends." "My heart's desire and request unto God for you is, that ye may be saved: I say the truth in Christ also, I lie not, my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness, and continual sorrow in my heart, for them amongst you, who as yet walk disorderly, and not as beseemeth the gospel, little labouring to acquaint themselves with the mystery of godliness. You know, brethren, how I have been amongst you, and in what manner, for these few years past; and how I have kept back nothing that was profitable unto you; but have showed you and taught you publicly, and from house to house, testifying to all, repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ. With what sincerity this hath been by me performed; with what issue and success by you received, God, the righteous Judge, will one day declare. In the meantime, the desire of my heart is, to be servant to the least of you

in the work of the Lord; and that in any way, which I can conceive profitable unto you, either in your persons or your families."

These catechisms are now superseded by others more simple and more adapted to the modern system of religious education. They contain, however, full and ample statements of divine truth; and, as explained and simplified to the youthful part of his flock in his pastoral visits, must have been eminently beneficial.

Soon after his settlement at Fordham, he was united in matrimony to Miss Rooke, of whose history we have no account. They had eleven children, but one only survived, and she died on April 12th, 1682. This rapid succession of mortality in his family must have been distressing to his parental feelings. We have no means of judging what was the state of his mind under such circumstances, but that he bore these trials with christian fortitude, may be readily conceived from the two following consolatory letters which he addressed to two of his friends when bereft of their children.

*To Lady Hartopp.*

"Dear madam,—Every work of God is good; the Holy One in the midst of us will do no iniquity; and all things shall work together for good unto them that love him; even those things which at present are not joyous, but grievous; only his time is to be waited for, and his way submitted unto, that we seem not to be displeased in our hearts, that he is Lord over us. Your dear infant is in the eternal enjoyment of the fruits of all our prayers; for the covenant of God is ordered in all things, and sure: we shall go to her, she shall not return to us. Happy she was in this above us, that she had so speedy an issue of sin and misery, being born only to exercise your faith and patience, and to glorify God's grace, in her eternal blessedness. My trouble would be great, on the account of my absence, at this



time, from you both, but that this also is the Lord's doing; and I know my own uselessness, wherever I am. But this I will beg of God, for you both, that you may not faint in this day of trial, that you may have a clear view of those spiritual and temporal mercies wherewith you are yet intrusted, all undeserved, that sorrow of the world may not so overtake your hearts, as to disenable to any duties, to grieve the Spirit, to prejudice your lives; for it tends to death. God in Christ will be better to you than ten children, and will so preserve your remnant, and so add to them, as shall be for his glory and your comfort: only consider, that sorrow in this case is no duty, it is an effect of sin, whose cure by grace we should endeavour. Shall I say, Be cheerful? I know I may. God help you to honour grace and mercy, in a compliance therewith. My heart is with you, my prayers shall be for you, and I am," &c.

*To Mrs. Polhill.*

"Dear madam,—The trouble expressed in your's, is a great addition to mine: the sovereignty of Divine grace and wisdom is all that I have at this day to retreat unto; God direct you thereunto also, and you will find rest and peace. It adds to my trouble that I cannot possibly come down to you this week; nothing but engaged duty could keep me from you one hour; yet I am conscious how little I can contribute to your guidance in this storm, or your satisfaction. Christ is your Pilot, and however the vessel is tossed whilst he seems to sleep, he will arise and rebuke these winds and waves in his own time. I have done it, and yet will farther wrestle with God concerning you, according to the strength he is pleased to communicate. Little it is which at this distance I can mind you of, yet some few things are necessary. Sorrow not too much for the dead; she is entered into rest, and is taken away from the evil to come. Take heed, lest,

by too much grief, you too much grieve that Holy Spirit, who is infinitely more to us than all natural relations. I blame you not that you so far attend to the call of God in this dispensation, as to search yourself, to judge and condemn yourself: grace can make it an evidence to you, that you shall not be judged or condemned of the Lord. I dare not say that this chastisement was not needful. We are not in heaviness, unless need be; but if God be pleased to give you a discovery of the wisdom and care that is in it, and how needful it was, to awaken and restore your soul in any thing, perhaps in many things, in due time you will see grace and love in it also. I verily believe God expects, in this dealing with you, that you should judge yourself, your sins, and your decays; but he would not have you misjudge your condition. But we are like froward children, who, when they are rebuked and corrected, neglect other things, and only cry that their parents hate and reject them. You are apt to fear, to think, and say, that you are one whom God regards not, who are none of his, and that for sundry reasons which you suppose you can plead. But, saith God, this is not the business, this is a part of your frowardness; I call you, to quicken your grace, to amend your own ways, and you think you have nothing to do but to question my love. Pray, madam, my dear sister, child and care, beware you lose not the advantage of this dispensation: you will do so, if you use it only to afflictive sorrows, or questioning of the love of God, or your interest in Christ. The time will be spent in these things, which should be taken up in earnest endeavours after a compliance with God's will, quickenings of grace, returns after backsliding, mortification of sin and love of the world, until the sense of it do pass away. Labour vigorously to bring your soul to this two-fold resolution: 1. That the will of God is the best rule for all things, and their circumstances. 2. That you will bring yourself into a fresh engagement to live more to him; and

you will find the remainder of your work easy; for it is part of the yoke of Christ. I shall trouble you no farther, but only to give you the assurance that you are in my heart continually, which is nothing; but it helps to persuade me, that you are in the heart of Christ, which is all. I am," &c.

Mr. Owen's talents as a preacher and writer soon attracted public notice. He was summoned to preach before parliament, at its monthly fast, on April 29th, 1646. The sermon received the thanks of the house of commons, and was published at their request. It is entitled, "A Vision of unchangeable free Mercy in sending the Means of Grace to undeserving Sinners." The title of the sermon fully explains its object. It is an admirable discourse, and entitled to serious attention in these days of enlightened and extensive efforts to diffuse the gospel throughout the earth. One or two extracts may be given, as illustrative of the author's anxiety for the salvation of souls, and may serve as a stimulus to the reader to seek more earnestly, and spread more widely, the "glorious gospel of the blessed God."

"No men in the world want help like them that want the gospel. Of all distresses, want of the gospel cries loudest for relief. A man may want liberty, and yet be happy, as Joseph was: a man may want peace, and yet be happy, as David was: a man may want children, and yet be happy, as Job was: a man may want plenty, and yet be full of comfort, as Micaiah was: but he that wants the gospel, wants every thing that should do him good. A throne, without the gospel, is but the devil's dungeon: wealth, without the gospel, is fuel for hell: advancement, without the gospel, is but going high to have the greater fall. What do men need that want the gospel?

"They want Jesus Christ, for he is revealed only by the gospel. He is all in all, and where he is wanting

there can be no good. Hunger cannot truly be satisfied without manna, the bread of life, which is Jesus Christ: and what shall a hungry man do that hath no bread? Thirst cannot be quenched without that living spring, which is Jesus Christ: and what shall a thirsty soul do without water? A captive, as we are all, cannot be delivered without redemption, which is Jesus Christ: and what shall the prisoner do without his ransom? Fools, as we are all, cannot be instructed without wisdom, which is Jesus Christ; without him, we perish in our folly. All building without him is on the sand, which will surely fall. All working without him is in the fire, where it will be consumed. All riches without him have wings, and will fly away. A dungeon with Christ is a throne, and a throne without Christ is a hell. Nothing so ill but Christ will compensate. All mercies without Christ are bitter, and every cup is sweet that is seasoned but with a drop of his blood: he truly is the love and delight of the sons of men, without whom they must perish eternally, for there is no other name given unto them whereby they may be saved. He is the Way; men without him are Cains, wanderers and vagabonds: he is the Truth; men without him are liars, like the devil who was so of old: he is the Life; men without him are dead, dead in trespasses and sins: he is the Light; men without him are in darkness, and go they know not whither: he is the Vine; those that are not grafted in him are withered branches, prepared for the fire: he is the Rock, men not built on him are carried away with a flood: he is Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last; the Author and the Ender, the Founder and the Finisher of our salvation; he that hath not Him, hath neither beginning of good, nor shall have an end of misery. O blessed Jesus, how much better were it not to be, than to be without thee! Never to be born than not to die in thee! A thousand hells come short of this—eternally to want Jesus, as men do that want the gospel.

“They want all holy communion with God, wherein the only happiness of the soul doth consist. He is the life, light and joy, and blessedness of the soul: without him, the soul in the body is a dead soul in a living sepulchre. It is true there be many that say, ‘Who will show us any good?’ but, unless the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon us, we perish for evermore. You who have tasted how gracious the Lord is, who have had any converse or communion with Him, in the issues and goings forth of his grace, those delights of his soul with the children of men, would not life itself, with a confluence of all earthly endearments, be a hell without him? Is it not the daily language of your hearts, ‘Whom have we in heaven but thee; and on earth there is nothing in comparison of thee?’ The soul of man is of a vast and boundless comprehension; so that, if all created good were centered into one enjoyment, and that bestowed on one soul, because it must needs be finite and limited, as created, it would give no solid contentment to his affections, nor satisfaction to his desires. In the presence and fruition of God alone there is joy for evermore: at his right hand are rivers of pleasure, the well-springs of life and blessedness. Now if to be without communion with God in this life, wherein the soul hath so many avocations from the contemplation of its own misery, (for earthly things are nothing else,) is so insupportable a calamity: ah! what shall that poor soul do that must want him for eternity, as all they must do who want the gospel.

“They want all the ordinances of God, the joy of our hearts, and comfort of our souls. O the sweetness of a sabbath! the heavenly raptures of prayer! O the glorious communion of saints which such men are deprived of! If they knew the value of the hidden pearl, and these things were to be purchased, what would such poor souls not part with for them?

“They will at last want heaven and salvation; they

shall never come to the presence of God in glory; never inhabit a glorious mansion: they shall never behold Jesus Christ, but when they shall call for rocks and mountains to fall on them, to hide them from his presence: they shall want light in utter darkness; want life under the second death; want refreshment in the midst of flames; want healing under gnawing of conscience; want grace, continuing to blaspheme; want glory, in full misery; and, which is the sum of all, they shall want an end of all this, for 'their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched.' "

Many other passages might be quoted of equal interest and force, especially from the latter part of the discourse, in which he pathetically bewails the wretched moral condition of Ireland, Wales, France, &c., and most fervently beseeches his audience to assist in providing the means of instruction for the ignorant and dying. "O that you would labour to let all parts of the kingdom taste of the sweetness of your successes in carrying to them the gospel of the Lord Jesus: that the doctrine of the gospel might make way for the discipline of the gospel, without which it will be a very skeleton. When manna fell in the wilderness from the hand of the Lord, every one had an equal share: I would there were not now too great an inequality in the scattering of manna, when secondarily in the hand of man; whereby some have all, and others have none: some sheep daily picking the choice flowers of every pasture, others wandering upon the barren mountains without guide or food."

Such sentiments as these have not often been addressed to the houses of parliament. The preaching and publication of this sermon brought him into greater notice, and eventually was the means of introducing him into more public scenes and engagements. He continued labouring in his country parish with assiduity and success, till the patron dispossessed him,



and presented the living to another. He was, however, immediately invited to Coggeshall, a neighbouring town, to which living he was generously presented by the earl of Warwick. The congregation in this town was large and respectable; between them and their pastor a strong reciprocal attachment was speedily formed, but it was destined, by the providence of God, ere long, to be finally dissolved. Owen had, hitherto, been connected with the presbyterians. He never entirely accorded with that body in its views of ecclesiastical discipline; but still, from habit and preference, he considered himself a presbyterian. His views on church government had been for some time undergoing considerable modification. His private studies had been directed to that subject; and in some of his writings already published, he plainly indicated his approach to the principles of independency. Soon after his settlement at Coggeshall, his investigations on the subject were brought to a close. He renounced the principles of the presbyterian, and, then, dominant church, and embraced those of congregationalism, or independency. This change of views was the result of conviction, and was avowed at a period, when, he says, "he could expect nothing but ruin in this world." He thus alludes to the circumstance: "I remember about fifteen years ago, that meeting with a learned friend, we fell into some debate about the liberty that began then to be claimed by men, differing from what had been, (episcopacy,) and what was then likely to be established (presbytery;) having, at that time, made no farther inquiry into the grounds and reasons of such liberty, than what had occurred to me in the writings of the Remonstrants—I delivered my judgment in opposition to the liberty pleaded for, which was then defended by my learned friend. Not many years after, discoursing the same difference with the same person, we found

immediately that we had changed stations; I pleading for an indulgence of liberty, he for restraint. Whether that learned and worthy person be of the same mind that then he was, I know not directly. My change I here own; my judgment is not the same in this particular that it was fourteen years ago, and in my change, I have good company whom I need not name." He consequently left the presbyterian establishment, and formed a church of the congregational order in Coggeshall.

For the edification of his new charge he published a small work called "Esheol; or, rules of direction for the saints in fellowship, according to the order of the gospel." It has passed through several editions, and continues to be published to the present day. It is an admirable compendium of the reciprocal duties of pastor and people, and is suited to believers of every denomination. A single extract on mutual forbearance will show the christian spirit of its author. "It is the glory of God to cover a matter, Prov. xxv. 2: free pardon is the substance of the gospel, the work of God in perfection, Isa. lv., and is proposed to us for imitation, Matt. xviii. 26—28. Whilst we are clothed with flesh we do all things imperfectly; freedom from failings is a fruit of glory: we see here darkly as in a glass, know but in part; in many things we offend all: who knoweth how often? Mutual failings to be borne with, offences to be pardoned, weakness to be supported, may mind us in these pence, of the talents forgiven us. Let him that is without fault throw stones at others. Some men rejoice in others' failings; they are malicious, and fail more in that sinful joy, than their brethren in that which they rejoice at. Some are angry at weaknesses and infirmities; they are proud and conceited, not considering that they themselves also are in the flesh. Some delight always to dwell upon a frailty; they deserve to find no charity in the

like kind. For injuries, who almost can bear till seven times? Peter thought it much. Some more study revenge than pardon: some pretend to forgive, but yet every slight offence makes a continued alienation of affections, and separation of converse. Some will carry a smooth face over a rough heart: Christ is in none of these ways; they have no savour of the gospel—meekness, patience, forbearance, and forgiveness; hiding, covering, removing of offences, are the footsteps of Christ. Seest thou thy brother fail, pity him: doth he continue in it, earnestly pray for him, admonish him; cannot another sin but you must sin too? If you be angry, vexed, rejoiced, alienated from, you are partner with him in evil, instead of helping him. Suppose thy God should be angry every time thou givest cause, and strike every time thou provokest him. When thy brother offendeth thee, do but stay thy heart until thou takest a faithful view of the patience and forbearance of God towards thee; and then consider his command to thee, to go and do likewise. Let then all tenderness of affection, and bowels of compassion towards one another, be put on among us, as becometh saints. Let pity, not envy; mercy, not malice; patience, not passion; Christ, not flesh; grace, not nature; pardon, not spite or revenge, be our guides and companions in our conversations.”

In the following year he published an elaborate work, entitled “The death of Death in the death of Christ.” It is a controversial work, and chiefly occupied with elaborate discussions on the nature and extent of the atonement. In this work his remarks on Christ enduring the wrath of God in the stead of sinners, may be quoted. “The death that sinners are to undergo is the wrath of God: Jesus Christ did ‘taste of that death’ which sinners for themselves were to undergo, for he died as our ‘surety,’ Heb. vii. 22, and in our stead, Matt. xx. 38. Hence his fear,

Heb. v. 7; his agony, Luke xxii. 44; his astonishment and amazement, Mark xiv. 33; his dereliction, Matt. xxvii. 46; his sorrow, heaviness, and inexpressible pressures.

“That doctrine cannot be true, nor agreeable to the gospel, which strikes at the root of gospel faith, and plucks away the foundation of all that strong consolation which God is so abundantly willing that we should receive; but such is that of denying the satisfaction made by Christ, his answering the justice, and his undergoing the wrath of his Father. It makes the poor soul to be like Noah’s dove in its distress, not knowing where to rest the sole of her feet. When a soul is turned out of its self-righteousness, and begins to look abroad and view the heavens and earth for a resting-place, and perceives an ocean, a flood, an inundation of wrath to cover all the world; the wrath of God revealing itself from heaven against all ungodliness, so that it can obtain no rest nor abiding; heaven it cannot reach by its own flight, and to hell it is unwilling to fall: if now the Lord Jesus Christ do not appear as an ark in the midst of the waters, for a refuge, alas, what shall it do? When the flood fell, there were many mountains, glorious in the eye, far higher than the ark, but yet those mountains were all drowned, whilst the ark still kept on the top of the waters. Many appearing hills and mountains of self-righteousness and general mercy at the first view seem to the soul much higher than Jesus Christ; but when the flood of wrath once comes and spreads itself, all those mountains are quickly covered: only the ark, the Lord Jesus, though the flood fall on him also, yet he gets above it quite, and gives safety to them that rest upon him. Let me now ask any of those poor souls who ever have been wandering and tossed with the fear of the wrath to come, whether they ever found a resting place till they came to this—

‘God spared not his only Son, but gave him up to death for us all.’ Bereave me, then, of the satisfaction of Christ, and I am bereaved. If he fulfilled not justice, I must: if he underwent not wrath, I must to eternity. O rob me not of my only pearl. Denying the satisfaction of Christ, destroys the foundation of faith and comfort.”

“Notice two particular places of scripture.

“1. ‘He hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin,’ 2 Cor. v. 21. He made him to be ‘sin for us.’ How could that be? are not the next words, he ‘knew no sin?’ Was he not a Lamb without spot, and without blemish? Doubtless he did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. What then is this—God ‘made him to be sin?’ It cannot be, that God made him sinful, or a sinner by any inherent sin; that will not stand with the justice of God, nor with the holiness of the person of our Redeemer. What is it then? ‘He made him to be sin who knew no sin?’ Why clearly, by dispensation and consent he laid that to his charge, whereof he was not guilty. He stood as our surety, really charged with the whole debt, and was to pay the uttermost farthing; as a surety is to do if it be required of him: though he borrow not the money, nor have one penny of that which is in the obligation, yet, if he be sued to an execution, he must pay all. The Lord Christ, if I may say so, was sued by his Father’s justice unto an execution; in answer whereunto he underwent all that was due to sin.

“If it be excepted, as it is, that God was always well pleased with his Son, he testified it again and again from heaven; how then could he lay his wrath upon him? I answer—It is true he was always well pleased with him; yet it pleased him to bruise him, and put him to grief. He was always well pleased with the holiness of his person, the excellency and perfectness of his righteousness, and the sweetness of

his obedience; but he was displeased with the sins that were charged on him; and therefore it pleased him to bruise and put him to grief, with whom he was always well pleased.

“2. ‘He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed,’ Isa. liii. 5. ‘The chastisement of our peace was upon him;’ that is, he was chastised, or punished, that we might have peace, that we might go free: our sins being the cause of his wounding, and our iniquities of his being bruised; all our sins meeting upon him, as ver. 6; that is, he bare our sins, in Peter’s interpretation. He bare our sins, by being wounded for them, bruised for them, undergoing the chastisement due unto them—consisting in death, wrath, and curse; so making his soul an offering for sin. Ask the word, what it means by Christ’s bearing of sin? It will tell you—his being stricken for our transgressions, Isa. liii. 8; his being cut off for our sins, Dan. ix. 26.”

During his continuance at Coggeshall, Owen was on two other occasions called to preach before parliament: the one on the day following that on which Charles I. was put to death, and the other in the following April. Both sermons are published among his works; the discourse on the latter occasion is entitled, the “Shaking and Translating of Heaven and Earth,” and is remarkably suited for times of agitation. It is rich in interesting illustration and remark. Its divisions are too numerous and minute; but this was the fashion of discoursing in that day.

The application of this discourse shows that the preacher was deeply solicitous for the spiritual welfare of his audience. “Give,” says he, “give the Lord Jesus a throne in your hearts, or it will not be at all to your advantage that he hath a throne and kingdom



in the world. Perhaps you will see plenty of it, but not taste one morsel. Take first that which comes not by observation, that which is within you, which is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. 'Seek first this kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be added to you.' O that it were the will of God to put an end to all that pretended holiness, hypocritical humiliation, and self-interested religion that have been among us, whereby we have flattered God with our lips, whilst our hearts have been far from him! O that it might be the glory of this assembly, above all the assemblies of the world, that every ruler in it might be a sincere subject in the kingdom of the Lord Jesus! O that it might suffice that we have had in our parliament, and among our ministers, so much of the form and so little of the power of godliness; that we have called the world Christ, and lust Christ, and self Christ, working indeed for them, when we pretended all for Christ. O that I could nourish this one contention in your honourable assembly, that you might strive who should excel in setting up the Lord Jesus in your hearts!"

"You may be apt to think, that if you can carry on and compass your purposes, then all your enemies will be assuredly disappointed. Do but embrace the Lord Jesus in his kingly power in your bosom, and, '*ipso facto*,' all your enemies are everlastingly disappointed: you are the grains which, in the sifting of the nation, have been kept from falling to the ground. Are you not the residue of all the chariots of England? O that in you might appear the reality of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, which hath been so long pretended by others! that sound righteousness, not a pharisaical, rigid, supercilious affectation; not a careless belief and comportment, the issue of novel fancies, might be found upon your spirits, that you may be brought to rejoice with the Lord in his kingdom; otherwise this

day of the Lord which we have described, however desired and longed after, will be darkness to you, and not light."

It was this sermon that introduced Owen to the acquaintance of Cromwell, who then heard him for the first time, and was much pleased with the discourse. Owen intended to return home within two days after preaching, but calling, before he left town, to pay his respects to general Fairfax, with whom he had become acquainted at the siege of Colchester, he there accidentally met with Cromwell. When Owen waited on Cromwell, the servants told him, he was so much indisposed that several persons of quality had been refused admittance. He, however, sent in his name, requesting it to be mentioned to the general, that he only came to express his obligations for the many favours received from him. In the mean time Cromwell came in with a number of the officers, who, seeing Owen, immediately walked up to him, and laying his hand upon his shoulder, in the familiar manner which he used to his friends, said, 'Sir, you are the person I must be acquainted with.' Owen modestly replied, 'That will be much more to my advantage than yours.' 'We shall soon see that,' said Cromwell; and taking him by the hand, immediately led him into Fairfax's garden, where he told him of his intended expedition to Ireland, and requested that he would accompany him for the purpose of regulating the affairs of Trinity College. Owen objected, on account of his charge of the church at Coggeshall; but Cromwell would take no denial, and from intreaties proceeded to commands." He consulted his church, and his brethren in the ministry in his neighbourhood, who at length advised him to comply. He was appointed chaplain to "lieutenant-general Cromwell," by the decision of parliament, and a vote of £100 per annum was settled on his wife and children during his absence.

After a day of fasting and prayer had been observed, the army set sail, and duly arrived in Dublin. Owen's lodgings were provided in Trinity College, the regulation of whose affairs was the chief object for which Cromwell required his services. His time was fully and successfully occupied in his university labours, and in preaching to thronging multitudes the words of eternal life. "Nor were his labours," says John Rogers, "without fruit. I have accidentally discovered two individuals, Dorothy Emett, and major Manwaring, who ascribe their first convictions to his preaching in Dublin. Many more, we may hope, will appear at another day. 'Mr. Owen,' says Dorothy Emett, 'was the first man by whose means and ministry I became sensible of my condition. I was much cast down, and could have no rest within me; and so I continued till his going away from us, and at his going he bid me believe in Christ, and be fervent in prayer.' She afterwards obtained comfort. 'I heard Mr. Owen, in Dublin,' said major Manwaring, 'who did me much good, and made me to see my misery in the want of Christ.' These testimonies are extracted from a curious and scarce book, by John Rogers, 'The Tabernacle for the Sun;' in which the experience of a number of various religious characters in Dublin is recorded. They sufficiently confute an unfounded saying ascribed to Dr. Owen—that he never knew that he had been useful in converting one sinner." He found time, however, amid all his pressing avocations, to prepare a reply to a treatise by Baxter, against his work on the "Death of Christ." He took care of the "moments," knowing the hours would take care of themselves. The composing of treatises and replies must have been his recreation.

He left Ireland the following year, and was called to preach before the parliament immediately after his return. The discourse he delivered on the occasion is

entitled, "The Stedfastness of Promises, and the Sinfulness of Staggering." It discovers the deep interest he took in the welfare of Ireland. "I would," says he, "there were, for the present, one gospel preacher for every walled town in the English possession in Ireland. The land mourneth, and the people perish for want of knowledge: many run to and fro, but it is upon other designs—knowledge is not increased. They are sensible of their wants, and cry out for supply. The tears and cries of the inhabitants of Dublin after the manifestation of Christ, are ever in my view. If they were in the dark, and loved to have it so, it might, in some respects, close the door upon the bowels of our compassion; but they cry out of their darkness, and are ready to follow any one whatever who has a candle. If their being without the gospel move not our hearts, it is hoped their importunate cries will disquiet our rest, and extort help as a beggar doth alms."

"Once more, to this work of faith, let me stir you up to another work of love, and that in behalf of many poor perishing creatures, that want all things for the sustentation of life. Poor parentless children, that lie begging, starving, rotting in the streets, and find no relief! yea, persons of quality, that have lost their dearest relations in your service, seeking for bread and finding none. O that some thoughts of this also might be seriously committed to them that shall take care for the gospel!"

He calls upon parliament not to consider the subjugation of Ireland the only object deserving of their attention; but to appoint a committee for the consideration of its religious state, and to take other steps for supplying the wants, and redressing the grievances of that ill-fated country. In consequence of these representations, seconded by those of Cromwell, parliament passed an ordinance on the 8th of March, for the encouragement of religion and learning in Ireland. By this act, certain lands were devoted to the support of

Trinity College, and the endowment of its professors; for erecting another college in Dublin, and maintaining its teachers; and for the erection of a free school, and the support of the masters and scholars. The university of Dublin being thus revived, and put on a new footing, the parliament sent over six of their most acceptable preachers, to give it reputation, appointing them two hundred pounds per annum out of the bishop's lands; and, till that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the public revenue.

Owen was soon ordered by parliament to proceed, as chaplain to the general, into Scotland, in company with Mr. Joseph Caryl. He went to Berwick, and continued for some months in the north, accompanying the army in its marches, and preaching in the several towns where they encamped.

*Mr. Owen appointed dean of Christ church—also vice-chancellor of Oxford—his labours.*

Mr. Owen returned early in the year 1651 to his family and church at Coggeshall; and was surprised shortly after his return to find the following notice in a public paper: "On the 18th March, 1651, the house (of parliament) taking into consideration the worth and usefulness of John Owen, M.A., of Queen's College, ordered that he be settled in the deanery of Christ's church, in the room of Dr. Reynolds." With the consent of his church at Coggeshall, he resigned his pastoral office, and entered on his new charge at Oxford in the course of the same year. What were his humble views of himself, and his disinclination to accept of so public a situation, may be judged of by his own language in his preface to his 'Treatise on Divine Justice.'

"About two years ago, the parliament of the commonwealth promoted me, while diligently employed, according to the measure of the gift of grace bestowed on me, in preaching the gospel, by their authority and

influence, though with reluctance on my part, to a chair in the very celebrated university of Oxford. I mean not to relate what various employments fell to my lot from that period; what frequent journeys I engaged in; not, indeed, expeditions of pleasure, or on my own private account, but such as the unavoidable necessities of the university and commands of superiors, whose authority was not to be gainsaid, imposed on me. And now I clearly found, that I, who dreaded almost every academical employment, as being unequal to the task, and at a time too when I had entertained hope, that through the goodness of God, in giving me leisure and retirement, and strength for study, that the deficiency of genius and penetration might be made up by industry and diligence, was now so circumstanced, that the career of my studies must be interrupted by more and greater impediments than ever. For what could be expected from a man not far advanced in years, and who had for some time been very full of employment, and accustomed only to the popular mode of speaking; and who, being entirely devoted to the investigation of the grace of God through Jesus Christ, had taken leave of all scholastic studies; whose genius is by no means quick, and who had even forgot, in some measure, the portion of polite learning that he might have formerly acquired? The most weighty and important task of lecturing in public, was put upon me, which would strictly and properly require the whole time and attention of the most grave and experienced divine; and in the discharge of which, unless I had been greatly assisted and encouraged by the candour, piety, submission, and self-denial of the auditors, and by their respect for the divine institution, and their love of the truth, with every kind of indulgence to the earthen vessel, I had long lost all hope of discharging that province, either to the public advantage, or my own satisfaction and comfort."

As an apology for the imperfections of the treatise,



he speaks of himself as "a man not wise in the estimation of others; in his own, very foolish: first called from rural retirement and the noise of arms to this university; and very lately again returned to it from excursions in the cause of the gospel, not only to the extremity of this island, but to coasts beyond the seas, and now again deeply engaged in the various and weighty duties of his station: whether any thing exalted or refined can be expected from such a person is easy for any one to determine."

Whilst discharging the duties of his office, he was repeatedly summoned to preach before parliament. Several of the discourses delivered on those occasions are published in the collection of his works, edited by Rev. Thomas Russell, M.A.

In the following year Mr. Owen was appointed, by Cromwell, Vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, and was unanimously elected by the senate. He earnestly requested to be excused from accepting the office, but his entreaty was vain. He at length acceded; and entered on his duties in one of the most critical and eventful periods of our national history. He was shortly afterwards created doctor of divinity, and in the following summer was returned member of parliament for the university. He enjoyed his parliamentary honours only a short time, his election having been declared "null and void," in consequence of his ministerial character.

A singular commission was formed by parliament at this time. It was designed to eject "scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters." The commissioners were familiarly denominated "Tryers." They were to inquire particularly "into the grace of God in the candidate, his holy and unblamable conversation, also into his knowledge, and utterance, and fitness to preach the gospel." Owen was appointed one of the commissioners; and appears to have discharged his difficult and delicate duty with

success. Through his interposition and remonstrance the celebrated Dr. Pocock, professor of Arabic in Oxford, was saved from expulsion by the Berkshire commissioners. What was their motive in threatening to expel the learned professor, whom the doctor describes "as a man of as unblamable a conversation as any that I know living, and of repute for learning throughout the world," cannot now be ascertained. It is gratifying, however, to find, that through Owen's efforts he retained his situation, and contributed, by his knowledge of oriental languages and customs, to facilitate the studies of sacred literature through succeeding generations.

The state of the university when Dr. Owen became dean and vice-chancellor was truly deplorable. "The colleges and halls had gone to ruin: five of them were perfectly deserted: some of them were converted into magazines, and the rest were in a most shattered state: while the chambers were filled with officers and soldiers, or let out to townsmen. There was little or no education of youth. Poverty, desolation, and plunder, the sad effects of war, were to be seen in every corner. The bursaries were emptied of the public money, the plate melted down for the king's service, and the colleges in debt which they were not able to discharge." He zealously set himself to correct these manifold evils, and to raise the character of the university, both for piety and learning. Nor were his efforts, in conjunction with those of his few colleagues, in vain. Learning, religion, and science, were extensively promoted; so that lord Clarendon states, that the university, at this period, "yielded a harvest of extraordinary, good, and sound knowledge, in all parts of learning; and many, who were wickedly introduced, applied themselves to the study of learning, and the practice of virtue. So that when it pleased God to bring king Charles II. back to his throne, he found that university abounding in excellent learning, and little inferior to

what it was before its desolation." 'This change in the circumstances, literature, and piety of the university, is truly astonishing, considering how short a time Owen was vice-chancellor. His office and connexion with Oxford was only for nine years, during five of which only he was vice-chancellor.

The manner in which he conducted himself is thus described: "The doctor managed the different parties in the university by his gentlemanly behaviour and condescension, by his impartiality and decision, and by his generous disinterestedness. He was moderate, but firm, dignified, and at the same time full of gentleness. He gained the good wishes of the episcopalians, by allowing a society of about three hundred of them, who used the liturgy, to meet every Lord's day, over against his own door, without disturbance, although they were not legally tolerated. He secured the support and favour of the presbyterians by giving away most of the vacant benefices in his gift to persons of that denomination; and with the presbyterians of the university he had the most intimate intercourse. Among the students he acted as a father. While he discountenanced and punished the vicious, he encouraged and rewarded the modest and the indigent. He was hospitable in his own house, generous to poor scholars, some of whom he took into his family, and others he assisted by presents of money. Foreigners as well as natives experienced his bounty; for some of them, by his favour and that of the canons of Christchurch, were admitted to free commons, and the use of the library. He was frequently consulted by persons of distinction respecting their sons who were placed at the university, and entreated to take an interest in them.

"In his own person he gave an example of fidelity and laborious diligence, which must have been attended with the best effects; while his labours in the pulpit aided the influence of his academical exertions. The university sermons, on the Lord's day afternoons,

used to be preached by the fellows of the college in their course ; but this being found not so much for edification, the vice-chancellor and Dr. Goodwin divided the labour between them. Every second sabbath he preached at Stadham, in the neighbourhood, where he bought some property. Thus, between the university and the pulpit, beside other labours, his hands must have been very fully occupied."

Amid his multifarious engagements, as vice-chancellor, he found time to write and publish various important and useful treatises. They were ten in number, and consisted of folio, quarto, and other smaller volumes. The most celebrated of his works published at this period are, his treatises on "Divine Justice;" on "The Saint's Perseverance," a folio volume, composed while journeying, and in the spare moments he could seize during his frequent and unavoidable absence from home ; an elaborate, and unanswerable and unanswered work, on the Socinian controversy, entitled "*Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*," written by the express orders of parliament, against some Socinian publications which had been lately spread with great industry throughout the country ; on the "Mortification of Sin in Believers;" on "Communion with God;" and on "Temptation." These three latter works show his profound knowledge of experimental and practical religion, and the eminent spirituality of his mind amid the difficult, harassing, and absorbing engagements of his office. His spiritual exercises under the numerous trials incident to his elevated station, are thus hinted at in his preface to the work on Temptation. "The variety of outward providences and dispensations, wherewith I have myself been exercised in this world, with the inward trials they have been attended withal, added to the observation that I have had advantages to make of the ways and walkings of others, their beginnings, progresses, and endings, their risings and falls in profession and conversation, in darkness and in

light, have left such a constant sense and impression of the power and danger of temptations upon my mind and spirit, that, without other pleas and pretences, I cannot but own a serious call unto men to beware, together with a discovery of some of the most eminent ways and means of the prevalency of the present temptation, to have been, in my own judgment, in this season needful." That his mind was supported under all his mental and spiritual conflicts, may be supposed from the high value he set on the consolations of the Spirit. He says, "In the whole course of our obedience, the consolations of the Spirit are necessary; that we may go through with it cheerfully, willingly, patiently to the end. In a word, in all the concerns of this life, and in our whole expectation of another, we stand in need of the consolations of the Holy Ghost. Without them, we shall either despise afflictions or faint under them, and God be neglected as to his intendments in them. Without them, sin will either harden us to a contempt of it, or cast us down to a neglect of the remedies graciously provided against it. Without them, duties will either puff us up with pride, or leave us without that sweetness, which is in new obedience. Without them, prosperity will make us carnal, sensual, and to take up our contentment in these things, and utterly weaken us for the trials of adversity. Without them, the comforts of our relations will separate us from God, and the loss of them make our hearts as Nabal's. Without them, the calamity of the church will overwhelm us, and the prosperity of the church will not concern us. Without them, we shall have wisdom for no work, peace in no condition, strength for no duty, success in no trial, joy in no state, no comfort in life, no light in death.

"Now our afflictions, our sins, and our obedience, with the attendances of them respectively, are the great concerns of our lives: what we are in reference unto God, is comprised in them, and the due manage-

ment of them, with their contraries, which come under the same rule : through all these doth there run a line of consolation from the Holy Ghost, that gives us a joyful issue throughout. How sad is the condition of poor souls destitute of these consolations ! What poor shifts are they forced to betake themselves unto ! What giants have they to encounter in their own strength ! and whether they are conquered or seem to conquer, they have nothing but the misery of their own trials."

In the preface to the work on the Socinian controversy, there is an admirable passage on the necessity of a devout and diligent searching of the scriptures, in order rightly to understand the will of God on any controverted subjects, and successfully to defend the interests of truth against the assaults of its opponents.

"Diligent, constant, serious reading, studying, and meditating on the scriptures, with the assistance and direction of all the rules and advantages for the right understanding of them, accompanied with continual attendance on the throne of grace, for the presence of the Spirit of truth with us, to lead us into all truth, and to increase his anointing of us day by day, shining into our hearts to give us the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, is, as for all other things in the course of our pilgrimage and walking with God, so for our preservation against these abominations, (Socinian errors,) and the enabling of us to discover their madness, and answer their objections, of indispensable necessity. Apollos, who was mighty in the scriptures, did mightily convince the gainsaying Jews. Neither in dealing with these men is there any better course in this world, than in a good order and method to multiply testimonies against them to the same purpose. For whereas they have shifts in readiness to every particular, and hope to darken a single star; when they are gathered into a constellation, they send out a glory and brightness which they cannot



stand before. Being engaged myself once in a public dispute about the satisfaction of Christ, I took this course in a clear and evident coherence, producing very many testimonies to the confirmation of it, which together gave such an evidence to the truth, that one who stood by instantly affirmed that there was enough spoken to stop the mouth of the devil himself. And this course in the business of the Deity and satisfaction of Christ will certainly be triumphant. Let us labour then to have our senses abundantly exercised in the word, that we may be able to discern between good and evil, and that not by studying the places themselves that are controverted, but by a diligent search into the whole mind and will of God, as revealed in the word, wherein the sense is given in to humble souls, with more life, power, and evidence of the truth, and is more effectual for the begetting of faith and love to the truth than in a curious search after the annotations of men upon particular places. And truly I must needs say, that I know not a more deplorable mistake in the studies of divines, both preachers and others, than their diversion from an immediate, direct study of the scriptures themselves, into the studying of commentators, critics, scholiasts, annotators, and the like helps, which God in his good providence, making use of the abilities, and sometimes the ambition and ends of men, hath furnished us withal. Not that I condemn the use and study of them, which I wish men were more diligent in, but desire pardon if I mistake, and do only surmise by the experience of my own folly for many years, that many who seriously study the things of God, do yet rather make it their business to inquire after the sense of other men on the scriptures, than to search studiously into them themselves.

“That direction in this kind, which, with me, is ‘*instar omnium*,’ (beyond all) is, for a diligent endeavour to have the power of the truths professed and contended for,

abiding upon our hearts, that we may not contend for notions, but what we have a practical acquaintance with in our own souls. When the heart is cast indeed into the mould of the doctrine that the mind embraceth; when the evidence and necessity of the truth abides in us; when not the sense of the words only is in our heads, but the sense of the things abides in our hearts; when we have communion with God in the doctrine we contend for, then we shall be garrisoned by the grace of God against all the assaults of men. And without this, all our contending is, as to ourselves, of no value. What am I the better if I can dispute that Christ is God, but have no sense or sweetness in my heart from hence, that he is a God in covenant with my soul? What will it avail me to evince by testimonies and arguments, that he hath made satisfaction for sin, if through my unbelief the wrath of God abides on me, and I have no experience of my own being made the righteousness of God in him? if I find not, in my standing before God, the excellency of having my sins imputed to him, and his righteousness imputed to me? Will it be any advantage to me in the issue, to profess and dispute that God works the conversion of a sinner, by the irresistible grace of his Spirit, if I was never acquainted experimentally with the deadness and utter impotency to good, that opposition to the law of God which is in my own soul by nature, with the efficacy of the exceeding greatness of the power of God in quickening, enlightening, and bringing forth the fruits of obedience in me? It is the power of truth in the heart alone, that will make us cleave unto it indeed in an hour of temptation. Let us then not think that we are any thing the better for our conviction of the truths of the great doctrines of the gospel for which we contend, unless we find the power of the truths abiding in our own hearts, and have a continual experience of their necessity and excellency in our standing before God, and our communion with him."

On these principles the doctor appears to have acted in all his controversies. A supreme regard to the interests of truth should characterize all writers, especially those who profess to defend and illustrate the essential truths of the gospel. Too often, alas! victory, and not truth, is the object sought. In this case, scripture is neglected or perverted to serve the cause espoused. The sentiments embodied in this quotation should be cherished by all who love the truth; and in proportion as they are acted upon, will be the happiness and usefulness of those who cherish them.

When Cromwell became "protector of the commonwealth," his son Richard was chosen chancellor. At his installation Dr. Owen was appointed to deliver the inaugural address, in which, though he had secretly offended the "protector" by his efforts to check the aspiring ambition of the "general," and was speedily to feel the effects of his displeasure, yet he eulogizes the character and deeds of Cromwell so far as he considered that they had been rendered subservient to the welfare of the country. Richard Cromwell had been in office only six weeks, when he dismissed his celebrated vice-chancellor, and appointed Dr. Conant as his successor. Dr. Owen delivered a farewell address on relinquishing his office, an extract from which, as it describes his conduct and success, may be with propriety introduced.

"Twenty-six persons have been admitted to the degree of doctor; three hundred and thirty-seven to the degree of master of arts; six hundred and ninety-seven to that of bachelor of arts: professors' salaries, lost for many years, have been recovered and paid; some offices of respectability have been maintained; the rights and privileges of the university have been defended against all the efforts of its enemies; the treasury is tenfold increased; many, of every rank, in the university, have been promoted to various honours and benefices; new exercises have been introduced and

established; old ones have been duly performed; reformation of manners has been diligently studied, in spite of the grumbling of certain profligate brawlers; labours have been numberless; besides submitting to the most enormous expense, often when brought to the brink of death on your account, I have hated these limbs and this feeble body, which was ready to desert my mind; the reproaches of the vulgar have been disregarded, the envy of others has been overcome: in these circumstances, I wish you all prosperity, and bid you farewell. I congratulate myself on a successor, who can relieve me of this burden; and you, on one who is able completely to repair any injury, which your affairs may have suffered through our inattention. .... But, as I know not, whither the thread of my discourse might lead me, I here cut it short. I seek again my old labours, my usual watchings, my interrupted studies; as for you, gentlemen of the university, may you be happy, and fare you well!"

Richard Cromwell succeeded to the protectorate on the death of his father, but finding himself unequal to the task of governing a nation in so troublous a period, he relinquished the reins of government and retired into private life. All events seemed to lead to the restoration of monarchy, and the re-establishment of offices and places as they were previously to the ascendancy of Cromwell. Among others, Dr. Owen was displaced from the deanery of Christ church, which he continued to hold after the relinquishment of the vice-chancellorship. On March 3, 1660, Dr. Reynolds was, by the vote of parliament, restored to his deanery, and Dr. Owen, of course, was ejected.

This was the termination of his connexion with the university, and with the public politics of his day. He retired into comparative obscurity, and resumed his more private, but equally useful labours, as an author and a preacher.

*His retirement from Oxford—call to New England—  
various works.*

On leaving Oxford, Dr. Owen retired to his estate at Stadham, in the immediate vicinity. Here he preached to a congregation, which had been formed by him during his residence at the university. He was attended by others who came on the Lord's day from Oxford to enjoy the benefit of his ministrations. His labours, however, were continued only for a short season. The harsh measures adopted against non-conformists compelled him to flee. He removed to London, and lived in privacy. His name is not enrolled among the ejected ministers, for he held no living at the time, but he was subjected to all the miseries occasioned by the various acts against the nonconformists passed during the reign of Charles II.

The active mind and pen of the doctor were not unemployed at this period. He published several works on theology, and on the religious controversies of the day. The most celebrated work among their number, was a Latin treatise, entitled "Theologoumena; or, Six Books on the Nature, Rise, Progress, and Study of True Theology, &c." The work discovers a vast extent of reading, and a profound acquaintance with the whole compass of profane and sacred learning. It is now superseded by a variety of important biblical works which have of late issued from the press. This treatise is not included in the uniform edition of his works.

"In the end of the year 1663, the doctor received an invitation from the first congregational church of Boston, in New England, of which Mr. Cotton, and afterwards Mr. John Norton, had been pastor. The latter having died in the month of April preceding, the church was desirous of filling up his place with Dr. Owen. Their application was seconded by the

following very respectful letter, from the general court of Massachusetts:—

“Reverend sir,—It hath pleased the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth, who giveth no account of his matters, to take unto himself, that pious and eminent minister of the gospel, Mr. John Norton, late teacher of the church of Christ in Boston, whose praise is in all the churches; the suitable and happy repair of which breach is of great concernment, not only to that church, but to the whole country. Now, although most of us are strangers to you, yet having seen your labours and heard of the grace and wisdom communicated to you from the Father of lights, we thought meet to write these, to second the call and invitation of that church unto yourself, to come over and help us; assuring you it will be very acceptable to this court, and we hope to the whole country, if the Lord shall direct your way hither, and make your journey prosperous to us. We confess the condition of this wilderness doth present little that is attractive, as to outward things; neither are we unmindful, that the undertaking is great, and trials many that accompany it; the persons that call you, are unworthy sinful men, of much infirmity, and may possibly fall short of your expectation, considering the long and liberal day of grace afforded us; yet, as Abraham and Moses, being called of God, by faith forsook their country and the pleasures thereof, and followed the Lord; the one not knowing whither he went, the other to suffer affliction with, and bear the manners of the people of God in the wilderness: and God was with them and honoured them: so we desire that the Lord would clear your call, and give you his presence. You may please to consider those that give you this call, as your brethren and companions in tribulation; who are in this wilderness for the faith and testimony of Jesus; and that we yet enjoy, through the distinguishing favour of God, the



pleasant things of Zion in peace and liberty. And while the Lord shall see meet to entrust us with this mercy, we hope no due care will be found wanting in the government here established, to encourage and cherish the churches of Christ, and the Lord's faithful labourers in his vineyard. Thus praying to the God of the spirits of all flesh, to set a man over this congregation of the Lord, that may go in and out before them, and make your call clear, and voyage successful to us; that if the Lord shall vouchsafe to us such a favour, you may come to us in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ. With our very kind love and respect,

We remain, your very loving friends,

JOHN ENDICOTT,

in the name, and by appointment of the General Court,  
sitting at Boston, in New England, the 20th  
October, 1663."

Dr. Owen intended to have proceeded to Boston, accompanied by several others, but was stopped by orders from the court, after some of his property had been actually embarked. He continued in London, and preached in temporary places of worship provided by the nonconformists, during the confusion and distress occasioned by the plague and the fire of London. He subsequently preached, as often as circumstances would permit, to a congregation consisting of officers, with whom he had been formerly connected, and various other persons. He established a lecture also, "to which many persons of quality, or eminent citizens, resorted." It was at considerable hazard this was done. When on a visit to his friends in the neighbourhood of Oxford, he very narrowly escaped being arrested. Information was given where he was staying. Some troopers came and knocked at the door for admittance. On learning for whom they came in pursuit, the landlady, supposing that he had gone off early

in the morning, as he intended to do, told them he was not there. They then retired, and the doctor, as soon as he ascertained his situation, immediately got his horse and returned to London.

His inconveniences and sufferings were not equal to those of many of his brethren. He possessed some property; in addition to which, he received a legacy of £500. bequeathed to him by his cousin, Martyn Owen, a brewer in London, who died in 1668: his publications, too, afforded him some profit. He had, however, a more than ordinary share of scandal and abuse. Calumnies were heaped on his character in unmeasured profusion. Many of his literary antagonists seemed to have been influenced by a spirit of most bitter and determined revenge. To some of his calumniators he replied, and exposed at once their malignity and falsehood. His reputation could not be really injured; and his fame had spread far beyond the limits of his own country. One of his earlier biographers asserts, that he was invited to fill the presidents' chair of Harvard college, in America, which had recently become vacant by the death of Dr. Chauncy. He was, moreover, invited to a similar post in one of the Dutch universities. With neither of these invitations did the doctor comply, but for what reason is unknown. He continued to preach, as circumstances permitted, to the little church which he had collected in London, and which contained about thirty-six members. On the death of the Rev. Joseph Caryl, author of the celebrated commentary on the book of Job, which occurred Feb. 7, 1673, the churches of Caryl and Owen proposed to unite, and to choose the doctor as the pastor of the united societies. The union took place June 5, 1673. This united church consisted of 176 members, among whom were many persons of distinguished rank and importance. He preached a suitable discourse on the occasion, which is published in the collection of his works.

A few passages from this discourse will serve to illustrate the christian and catholic spirit of its author. The discourse is entitled "Gospel Charity," and is occupied with illustrations and remarks on the following proposition: That "love, and its exercise, is the principal grace and duty that is required among, and expected from the saints of God, especially as they are engaged in church fellowship."

"Love is therefore the life, and soul, and quickening form of all duties that are performed among believers toward one another. Whatever duties you do perform, be they ever so great and glorious, ever so useful one to another, to any of the members of Christ, if they are not quickened and animated by this love, they are of no value as to communion with Christ, and edification of the church. And men may perform many things that appear to be duties of love, without love. 'Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. But above all these things put on love.' So that all these things may be, yet not love. Those which seem to be the greatest and most effectual fruits of love whatever, yet they may be all without love. We may forbear without love, forgive without love, be kind to one another without love; and all this of no use, if above all these things, over and upon them, we do not superinduce love, if we be not quickened and actuated by love. The truth is, he that shall read over the New Testament, especially those things which we have most reason particularly to consider in it, which are the special instructions and commands that Christ left unto his disciples when he was going out of this world, would think this same love, whatever it be, is the sum and substance of all that Christ required of us, as indeed it is. And the apostle John, who lived long, and lived to see the christian

religion much propagated in the world, and very probably saw a decay of love, wrote his first epistle almost to this very end and purpose, to let us know, that there was neither truth of grace, nor evidence of the love of God to us, nor of our love to God, unless there was fervent and intent love towards the brethren."

"Truly, I have a little jealousy upon my spirit, that churches have been apt to place their communion too much, if not solely, in the participation of the same ordinances, depending upon the same pastor and teacher, and joining together in the celebration of the same institutions. Friends, this is but the expression of our communion, and it may be without any real communion. There may be a communication in the same ordinances, without any communion of saints. If we be not actuated and influenced by this love in all we do, there is no communion. So far are you faithful unto your station in the church of God, so far you discharge your duty, and act as living members of the church, as you find love acting in you towards one another, and no farther. A church full of love is a church well built up. I had rather see a church filled with love a thousand times, than filled with the best, the highest, and most glorious gifts that any men in this world may be made partakers of. Could they go beyond and exceed all we aim at or desire; could they speak with the tongues of men and of angels; it is ten thousand times more for the glory of God and our own comfort, to be a company of poor saints, who are filled with love, than those of the highest attainments without it. We neither give testimony unto the world that God sent Christ, nor evidence that we are his disciples, nor do we contribute any thing to the edification of the church, unless God give us to act this grace of love in an abundant measure," Eph. iv. 15, 16; 1 Cor. xiii.

"I know not truly any way that any who fear God do walk in, though some are nearer the truth than

others, which in itself is an obstruction of love. I profess if I did, I would fly from that way, as from a pest house, or any thing that was mortally destructive, because I know the end of all Christ's institutions is to increase love. Some may be nearer the truth than others; some are so; but if any way doth really in itself obstruct love, without farther consideration, without debating whether it was right or wrong, I would leave that way, for I know it is false.—Pray let us not be overtaken with any such apprehension that we cannot exercise love until we come to such and such a way of agreement, and so put off the duty till we have no opportunity or ability to exercise it; but let us address ourselves to it in our present state and condition.”

“Let us take heed of a morose, sour, natural disposition. If it doth not hinder many fruits of love, yet it sullies the glory of its exercise extremely. Some good persons have so much of Nabal in them, that blasts the sweet fruit of love which comes from them: it is soured with something of an ill disposition, that hath no life or beauty in it. It is a great mistake to believe that grace only subdues our carnal corruption, and doth not change our natural temper. I believe grace changes the natural temper, and ennobles it; it makes ‘the leopard to lie down with the kid, and the bear to eat straw with the ox,’ as it is promised; it makes the froward, meek; the passionate, patient; and the morose, benign and kind. And we are to apply grace to these ends and purposes; and not to humour and please ourselves, as though such things are our natural disposition.—We are apt to excuse ourselves, and one another, and hope that Christ will do so too, because this or that is much from our natural temper. Pray let us not act thus; our natural tempers are to be cured by grace, or it hath not its perfect work upon us.”

“Take heed of such hinderances of love, as may attend your peculiar state and condition. I would speak to them that have the advantages of riches,

wealth, honour, reputation in the world, which encompass them with so many circumstances, that they know not how to break through them to that familiarity of love with the meanest member of the church which is required of them. Brethren, know the gospel leaves all your providential advantages entirely unto you; whatever you have by birth, education, inheritance, estate, titles, places, it leaves the entire enjoyment of them. But in things which purely concern your communion together, the gospel lays all level: there is neither rich nor poor, free nor bond, in Christ; but the new creature. Therefore we are so expressly commanded by the apostle James, chap. ii., that we should have no particular respect in the congregation to persons, upon the account of outward advantages. We all serve one common Master, the same Lord; and he is such a Lord, that when he was rich in all the glory of heaven, he became poor for our sakes. And let me beg of you that are rich, to remember this common Lord and Master; and let not your outward advantages therefore keep you at a distance from the meanest, the poorest saint that belongs unto the congregation. If they do, your riches are your temptation, and you place a disadvantage which you must labour to break through."

About this period a small breathing-space to the non-conformists had been granted. Owen was personally known to most of the nobility and royal family. Both the king and duke of York paid him some attention.

"Being in a very languishing state of health in 1674, he was at Tunbridge Wells when the duke of York was there. The duke sent for him, and had several conversations with him in his tent about the dissenters and conventicles. After his return to London, the king himself sent for him, and conversed two hours with him, assuring him of his favour and respect, and told him that he might have access to him whenever he pleased. Charles also made strong



professions of his regard for liberty of conscience, declared how sensible he was of the injuries that had been done to dissenters, and, as a proof of his good wishes to them, gave the doctor a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities. The doctor thankfully received his majesty's generosity, and faithfully applied it to the objects of his bounty.

From the time of his leaving Oxford to 1676, he published no less than twenty-two different works on various theological and ecclesiastical subjects. Amongst which, are his works on "Indwelling Sin;" on the "130th Psalm;"\* on the "Trinity;" on the "Sabbath;" on the "Holy Spirit;" and on "Apostacy." During this period he began his greatest work, "The Commentary on the Hebrews," which occupied his attention for sixteen years.

The principles on which he proceeded in his interpretation, are thus clearly stated by himself:

"For the exposition of the epistle itself, I confess, as was said before, that I have had thoughts of it for many years, and have not been without regard to it in the whole course of my studies. But yet I must now say, that after all my searching and reading, prayer and assiduous meditation have been my only resort, and by far the most useful means of light and assistance. By these have my thoughts been freed from many an entanglement into which the writings of others had cast me, or from which they could not deliver me. Careful I have been, as of my life and soul, to bring no prejudicate sense to the words, to impose no meaning of my own or other men's upon them, nor to be imposed on by the reasonings, pretences, or curiosities of any; but always went nakedly to the word itself, to learn humbly the mind of God in it, and to express it as he should enable me. To this end, I always considered in the first place the sense, meaning,

\* Published by the Religious Tract Society.

and import of the words of the text—their original derivation, use in other authors, especially in the Greek septuagint version of the Old Testament, in the books of the New, and particularly the writings of the same author. Ofttimes the words expressed out of the Hebrew, or the things alluded to among that people, I found to give much light to the words of the apostle. To the general rule of attending to the design and scope of the place, the subject treated of, mediums fixed on for arguments and methods of reasoning, I still kept in my eye the time and season of writing this epistle, the state and condition of those to whom it was written, their persuasions, prejudices, customs, light, and traditions; I kept, also, in my view, the covenant and worship of the church of old; the translation of covenant privileges and worship to the Gentiles, upon a new account; the course of providential dispensations that the Jews were under; the near expiration of their church and state; the speedy approach of their utter abolition and destruction, with the temptations that befel them on all these various accounts; without which it is impossible for any one justly to follow the apostle, so as to keep close to his design, or fully to understand his meaning.”

Many of these works were composed to meet the exigencies of the times, but most of them are of lasting importance and value. His more practical treatises were originally preached as discourses to his friends, and subsequently prepared for the press.

The following are some particulars relative to the origin of his work on the 130th Psalm:—Mr. Davis, who subsequently became pastor of the independent church at Rowell, in Northamptonshire, being under religious impressions, opened the state of his mind to Dr. Owen. In the course of conversation Dr. Owen said, “Young man, pray in what manner do you think to go to God?” Mr. Davis answered, “Through the Mediator, sir.” To which

the doctor replied, "That is easily said, but I assure you it is another thing to go to God through the Mediator, than many who make use of the expression are aware of. I myself preached Christ," said he, "some years, when I had but very little, if any experimental acquaintance with access to God through Christ; until the Lord was pleased to visit me with sore affliction, whereby I was brought to the mouth of the grave, and under which my soul was oppressed with horror and darkness: but God graciously relieved my spirit, by a powerful application of Psalm cxxx. 4. 'But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared.' From whence I received special instruction, peace, and comfort, in drawing near to God, through the Mediator; and preached thereupon immediately after my recovery."

His treatise on the "Sabbath" was occasioned by the open, authorized, and general profanation of that sacred day. The orders and practice of the court encouraged the people to devote the day of the Lord to pastime and sport. The obligation to keep the day holy was practically renounced, and by some writers had been strenuously opposed. Owen was anxious to stem the torrent of corruption which was deluging the land, by the breaking down of this sacred mound, and hence published his elaborate treatise on the subject. He successfully proves the divine obligation of the sabbath, and gives many practical directions for its observance. Some passages in the latter part of the work were misunderstood by some of his friends: they considered him as too lax in his views, and as conceding too much to the weakness and imperfections of human nature. He received an expostulatory letter on the subject from the venerable Eliot, justly styled "The apostle of the American Indians." This letter deeply affected the doctor, and he wrote a reply to the indefatigable missionary; in which, after explaining his meaning in the supposed obnoxious passage, he thus proceeds:

“I suppose there is scarce any one alive in the world, who hath more reproaches cast upon him than I have; though hitherto God has been pleased, in some measure, to support my spirit under them. I still relieved myself by this, that my poor endeavours have found acceptance with the churches of Christ. But my holy, wise, and gracious Father sees it needful to try me in this matter also; and what I have received from you, which, it may be, contains not your sense alone, hath printed deeper, and left a greater impression on my mind, than all the virulent revilings, and false accusations I have met with, from my professed adversaries. I do acknowledge to you, that I have a dry and barren spirit, and I do heartily beg your prayers, that the Holy One would, notwithstanding all my sinful provocations, water me from above: but that I should now be apprehended to have given a wound to holiness in the churches, is one of the saddest frowns in the cloudy brows of Divine providence. The doctrine of the sabbath, I have asserted, though not as it ought, yet as well as I could; the observation of it in holy duties to the utmost of the strength for them, which God shall be pleased to give us, I have pleaded for; the necessity also of a serious preparation for it, in sundry previous duties, I have declared. But now to meet with severe expressions—it may be, it is the will of God, that vigour should hereby be given to my former discouragements, and that there is a call in it to cease from these kinds of labours.”

This treatise is included in the doctor's “Commentary on the Hebrews.”

*His declining health—later works—death.*

The health of Dr. Owen appears to have been much broken up for several years before his death. His intense and unwearied application, the fruits of which appear in his numerous and elaborate writings, and his anxious solicitude respecting the affairs of his Master's

kingdom," must have destroyed the vigour of any constitution. He was severely afflicted with the stone, that painful and common accompaniment of a studious life. To this was added asthma, a complaint peculiarly unfavourable to public speaking. These disorders frequently confined him to his chamber; but though they often prevented him from preaching, they must have interfered but little with his writing, otherwise so many works could not have been composed during the last years of his life.

Mrs. Owen's health began, moreover, to decline; and on the 28th of January, 1676, she expired. No account is given of the manner of her death, nor of his religious experience under the painful bereavement. The following letter Dr. Owen addressed to his friend Charles Fleetwood, Esq., a few months previous to Mrs. Owen's death, when they both appear to have been under the afflicting hand of God:—

"Dear sir,—I received yours, and am glad to hear of your welfare; there is more than ordinary mercy in every day's preservation. My wife, I bless God, is much revived, so that I do not despair of her recovery: but for myself, I have been under the power of various distempers for fourteen days past, and do yet so continue. God is fastening his instruction concerning the approach of that season wherein I must lay down this tabernacle. I think my mind has been too much intent upon some things, which I looked on as services for the church; but God will have us know, that he has no need of me nor them, and is therefore calling me off from them. Help me with your prayers, that I may, through the riches of his grace in Christ, be in some measure ready for my account. The truth is, we cannot see the latter rain in its season, as we have seen the former, and a latter spring thereon: death, that will turn in the streams of glory upon our poor withering souls, is the best relief. I begin to fear that we

shall die in this wilderness; yet ought we to labour and pray continually, that the heavens would drop down from above, and the skies pour down righteousness, that the earth may open and bring forth salvation, and that righteousness may spring up together. If ever I return to you in this world, I beseech you to contend yet more earnestly, than ever I have done with God, with my own heart, with the church, to labour after spiritual revivals. Our affectionate service to your lady, and to all your family that are of the household of God. I am, &c."

Dr. Owen remained a widower about a year and a half; when, on the 12th of June, 1677, he again entered into the married state. His second wife was Mrs. Dorothy D'Oyly, widow of Thomas D'Oyly, Esq. of Chiselhampton, near Stadham. Her own name was Michel, the daughter of a family of distinction at Kingston Russel, Dorsetshire. Both she and her former husband were members of the church. She was much younger than the doctor, and had lost her husband, Mr. D'Oyly, on the 28th of March, 1675. She was eminent for her good sense, piety, and affectionate disposition, and brought the doctor a considerable fortune, which, with his own estate, and other property, enabled him to keep a country house at Ealing, in Middlesex. This lady survived the doctor many years; dying on the 18th of January, 1704. Her funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Watts on the 30th of the same month.

The infirmities of life increasing apace, the doctor was assisted in his public labours, and partly in his studies, by various ministers. His last assistant, and eventually his successor, was the Rev. David Clarkson, author of a large volume of sermons. The doctor entertained a high opinion of Mr. Clarkson, and was gratified on being able to have so valuable an assistant in his labours. A letter addressed to



C. Flectwood, Esq. confirms this statement, and is moreover descriptive of the state of the doctor's mind under his complicated and trying disorders.

Dear sir,—The bearer has stayed long enough with us to save you the trouble of reading an account of me in my own scribbling; a longer stay I could not prevail with him for, though his company was a great refreshment to me. Both you and your whole family, in all their occasions and circumstances, are daily in my thoughts; and when I am enabled to pray, I make mention of you all without ceasing. I find you and I are much in complaining: for my part I must say, And is there not a cause? so much deadness, so much unspirituality, so much weakness in faith, coldness in love, instability in holy meditations, as I find in myself, is cause sufficient of complaints; but is there not cause also of thanksgiving and joy in the Lord? Are there not reasons for them? When I begin to think of them I am overwhelmed; they are great, they are glorious, they are inexpressible. Shall I now invite you to this great duty of rejoicing more in the Lord? Pray for me that I may do so; for the near approach of my dissolution calls for it earnestly: my heart has done with this world, even in the best, and most desirable of its refreshments: if the joy of the Lord be not now strength unto it, it will fail. But I must have done. Unless God be pleased to affect some person or persons with a deep sense of our declining condition, of the temptations and dangers of the day, filling them with compassion for the souls of men, making them fervent in spirit in their work, it will go but ill with us. It may be these thoughts spring from causeless fears; it may be none amongst us has an evil, a barren heart, but myself: but bear with me in this my folly; I cannot lay down these thoughts until I die; nor do I mention them at present, as though I should not esteem it a great mercy to have so able a supply as

Mr. C., but I am groaning after deliverance; and being near the centre, do hope I feel the drawing of the love of Christ with more earnestness than formerly: but my naughty heart is backward in these compliances."

Severe and persecuting measures were still pursued against the disciples of the Redeemer among the non-conformists. The celebrated John Bunyan was imprisoned in Bedford jail for twelve years and a half, and was at length liberated through the intercession of Dr. Owen with bishop Barlow. Bunyan became exceedingly popular as a preacher. Multitudes thronged to hear him when it was known that he preached in London. Amongst his hearers and admirers was Dr. Owen himself, who, when king Charles II. expressed his surprise at the circumstance, said, "Had I the tinker's abilities, please your majesty, I would most gladly relinquish my learning."\*

Notwithstanding his personal afflictions and his various trials, he still employed his unwearied pen in the illustration and defence of the truth. Some of his most important treatises were composed in the declining period of his life, and when experiencing great bodily suffering. His works on "Justification," on the "Person of Christ," on "Evangelical Churches," on "Spiritual-mindedness," and on the "Glory of Christ," discover alike the vigour of his intellect, and the fervour of his piety, in his last days.

The treatise on the "Grace and Duty of being Spiritually-minded," was written, like Baxter's "Saints' Everlasting Rest," for the author's own private use under deep affliction, and when there was no probability of his ever resuming his public labours. On his recovery, he preached on the subject to his congregation, and then published the work for the benefit of mankind.

\* See the Life of Bunyan, page 129.

It is an important work, and is eminently calculated to promote the end designed.

His "Meditations on the Glory of Christ"\* was his last performance, and was put to press on the day of his death. Like "Baxter's Dying Thoughts," they are his own meditations in the prospect of eternity, and show the heavenward tendency of his thoughts and affections. "Whatever were the differences between these eminent men on minor points, there was an intimate union between them, in spirituality of affections, in deadness to the world, and in longing aspirations toward that heavenly felicity, so large a portion of which they both enjoyed and diffused on earth. It has been remarked, that disputants will often agree in their prayers, when they differ in their writings. Christians may differ while they live, but will generally agree in their feelings and sentiments towards each other in the near prospect of death. Eternity, when closely viewed, must materially affect our estimate of the transactions of time; and one thing alone can render the prospect of entering it pleasing and delightful to the mind. The glory of Christ, like that of the sun, increases in splendour as we advance upon it. It discovers increasingly the meanness and pollution of our earthly residence, and sheds a lustre over the 'inheritance of the saints in light,' which renders it infinitely attractive. The exercise of faith, hope, and love, directed towards heavenly things, acquires the strength and influence of a habit; futurity, often contemplated, is felt to be present; and invisible things acquire a form and consistency in the mind. It doth not indeed appear what we shall be; but as we become weaned from this sinful world, and feel that our life is hid with Christ in God, our earnest of heavenly happiness not only becomes more sure, but is better understood, and more abundant. The love of life loses its power, the fear of death diminishes;

\* Published by the Religious Tract Society.

knowledge ripens to perfection, and the song of victory begins to be sung on the borders of the tomb. In this life, christians suffer immense loss from not meditating on the person and glory of Christ, as they ought to do. It is a mistake to suppose, that this will be easy on a death-bed, if the mind has not been previously tutored to it. It is a subject which ought to become increasingly familiar, and increasingly delightful. If it shall constitute the perfection and employment of heaven, it ought surely to be the subject of chief regard on earth. The more it is so, the more will the conduct be marked with the decision of christianity, and the more will the mind be imbued by its spirit; till, from sipping of the streams, we rise to the full enjoyment of the ever-living and infinite fountain of heavenly joy. 'Now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face: now we know in part; but then shall we know even as we are known.'"

While detained at lord Wharton's seat, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health, he felt deeply solicitous for the spiritual welfare of his flock. They were exposed to great danger and persecution. To instruct and encourage them, he sent them the following epistle:

"Beloved in the Lord,—Mercy, grace, and peace be multiplied to you from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, by the communication of the Holy Ghost. I thought and hoped that by this time I might have been present with you, according to my desire and resolution; but it has pleased our holy, gracious Father otherwise to dispose of me, at least for a season. The continuance of my painful infirmities, and the increase of my weaknesses, will not allow me at present to hope that I should be able to bear the journey. How great an exercise this is to me, considering the season, He knows, to whose will I would in all things cheerfully submit myself. But although I am absent

from you in body, I am in mind, affection, and spirit present with you, and in your assemblies; for I hope you will be found my crown and rejoicing in the day of the Lord: and my prayer for you night and day is, that you may stand fast in the whole will of God, and maintain the beginning of your confidence without wavering, firm unto the end. I know it is needless for me at this distance to write to you, about what concerns you in point of duty at this season, that work being well supplied by my brother in the ministry; you will give me leave, out of my abundant affections towards you, to bring some few things to your remembrance, as my weakness will permit.

“In the first place, I pray God, it may be rooted and fixed in our minds, that the shame and loss we may undergo, for the sake of Christ, and the profession of the gospel, is the greatest honour which in this life we can be made partakers of: so it was esteemed by the apostles; they rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name’s sake: it is a privilege superadded to the grace of faith, which all are not made partakers of. Hence it is reckoned to the Philippians in a peculiar manner, that it was given to them, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for him: that it is far more honourable to suffer with Christ, than to reign with the greatest of his enemies: if this be fixed by faith in our minds, it will tend greatly to our encouragement. I mention these things only, as knowing that they are more at large pressed on you.

“The next thing I would recommend to you at this season, is, the increase of mutual love among yourselves; for every trial of our faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, is also a trial of our love towards the brethren. This is that which the Lord Christ expects from us, namely, that when the hatred of the world doth openly manifest and act itself against us all, we should evidence an active love among ourselves. If

there have been any decays, any coldness herein, if they are not recovered and healed in such a season, it can never be expected. I pray God, therefore, that your mutual love may abound more and more in all the effects and fruits of it towards the whole society, and every member thereof. You may justly measure the fruit of your present trial by the increase of this grace among you : in particular have a due regard to the weak and the tempted ; that that which is lame may not be turned out of the way, but rather let it be healed.

“ Furthermore, brethren, I beseech you, hear a word of advice in case the persecution increases, which it is likely to do for a season. I could wish that because you have no ruling elders, and your teachers cannot walk about publicly with safety, that you would appoint some among yourselves, who may continually, as their occasions will admit, go up and down, from house to house, and apply themselves peculiarly to the weak, the tempted, the fearful, those that are ready to despond, or to halt, and to encourage them in the Lord. Choose out those to this end who are endued with a spirit of courage and fortitude ; and let them know that they are happy whom Christ will honour with this blessed work : and I desire the persons may be of this number who are faithful men, and know the state of the church : by this means you will know what is the frame of the members of the church, which will be a great direction to you, even in your prayers. Watch now, brethren, that, if it be the will of God, not one soul may be lost from under your care ; let no one be overlooked or neglected ; consider all their conditions, and apply yourselves to all their circumstances.

“ Finally, brethren, that I be not at present farther troublesome to you, examine yourselves, as to your spiritual benefit which you have received, or do receive, by your present fears and dangers, which will alone give you the true measure of your condition ; for if this tends to the exercise of your faith, and love, and



holiness, if this increases your valuation of the privileges of the gospel, it will be an undoubted token of the blessed issue which the Lord Christ will give unto your troubles. Pray for me as you do, and do it the rather, that, if it be the will of God, I may be restored to you; and, if not, that a blessed entrance may be given to me into the kingdom of God and glory. Salute all the church in my name. I take the boldness in the Lord to subscribe myself,

“Your unworthy pastor, and your servant for Jesus’ sake,

“J. OWEN.”

“P. S. I humbly desire you would in your prayers remember the family where I am, from whom I have received, and do receive, great christian kindness. I may say, as the apostle of Onesiphorus, ‘The Lord give to them, that they may find mercy of the Lord in that day; for they have often refreshed me in my great distress.’”

Dr. Owen was obliged to leave town on account of his health. He hired a house at Kensington, whither he removed. He was scarcely settled there when the following incident took place:—In going to London, his carriage was seized by two informers; and, but for the providential circumstance of a magistrate, a friend of his, passing at the time, he would, like multitudes of his brethren, have been imprisoned. The magistrate discharged the doctor, and ordered the informers to appear before him in London, when it was found that they had acted illegally, and they were severely reprimanded.

Nor was this the only trying circumstance which tended to embitter his last days. A scandalous and malicious report was raised against him and some of his brethren, charging them with being concerned in the Rye-house plot, and with conspiring to assassinate the king and the duke of York! These circumstances

must have produced considerable anxiety in the mind of the doctor; and, in his weak and declining state, must have increased his afflictions and pains. The charge, however, was too monstrous and absurd to be true, and was not long circulated before it was disbelieved.

The state of his mind, under these trying circumstances, may be conjectured from the employment of his leisure hours, in composing his "Meditations on the Glory of Christ."

He removed from Kensington to Ealing, where he spent the remainder of his days, in diligent and earnest preparation for eternity. The letter he sent to a friend the day previously to his death, will show the ground of his hope in the prospect of his dissolution.

"Dear sir,—Although I am not able to write one word myself, yet I am very desirous to speak one word more to you in this world, and do it by the hand of my wife. The continuance of your entire kindness, knowing what it is accompanied withal, is not only greatly valued by me, but will be a refreshment to me, as it is even in my dying hour. I am going to Him whom my soul has loved, or rather who has loved me with an everlasting love, which is the whole ground of all my consolation. The passage is very irksome and wearisome, through strong pains of various sorts, which are all issued in an intermitting fever. All things were provided to carry me to London to-day, according to the advice of my physicians; but we are all disappointed by my utter disability to undertake the journey. I am leaving the ship of the church in a storm; but whilst the great Pilot is in it, the loss of a poor under-rower will be inconsiderable. Live, and pray, and hope, and wait patiently, and do not despond; the promise stands invincible, that he will never leave us, nor forsake us. I am greatly afflicted at the distempers of your dear lady; the good Lord stand by her, and

support and deliver her. My affectionate respects to her, and the rest of your relations, who are so dear to me in the Lord. Remember your dying friend with all fervency; I rest upon it, that you do so, and am,

“Yours entirely,

J. OWEN.”

“His sufferings, previously to his death, appear to have been uncommonly severe, arising from the natural strength of his constitution, and the complication of his maladies. But the truth, which he had long preached to the edification and comfort of many, and in defence of which he had written so much and so well, proved fully adequate, not only to support him, but to make him triumph in the prospect of eternity. On the morning of the day on which he died, Mr. William Payne, an eminent tutor and dissenting minister, at Saffron Walden, in Essex, who had been intrusted with the publication of his ‘Meditations on the Glory of Christ,’ called to take his leave, and to inform him, that he had just been putting that work to the press. ‘I am glad to hear it,’ said the dying christian, and lifting up his hands and eyes, as if transported with enjoyment, exclaimed—‘But O! brother Payne! the long wished-for day is come at last, in which I shall see that glory in another manner than I have ever done, or was capable of doing in this world.’”

The following extract from the preface of his work on the “Glory of Christ” will further show his prepared state of mind for a better world:—

“It is the assiduous contemplation of the glory of Christ, which will carry us cheerfully and comfortably into death, and through it. My principal work having been now for a long season to die daily, as living in a continual expectation of my dissolution, I shall, on this occasion, acquaint the reader with some few of my thoughts and reliefs, with reference to death itself.

“There are sundry things required of us, that we may be able to encounter death cheerfully, constantly,

and victoriously. For want of these, or some of them, I have known gracious souls, who have lived in a kind of bondage, through fear of death, all their days. We know not how God will manage any of our minds and souls in that season, in that trial. For he acts towards us in all such things, in a way of sovereignty. But these are the things which he requires of us in a way of duty.

“First. Peculiar actings of faith, to resign and commit our departing souls into the hand of Him who is able to receive them, to keep and preserve them, also to dispose of them into a state of rest and blessedness, are required of us.

“No man can comfortably venture on and into this condition, but in the exercise of that faith, which enables him to resign and give up his departing soul into the hand of God, who alone is able to receive it, and dispose it into a condition of rest and blessedness. So speaks the apostle: ‘I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him, against that day.’

“Stephen resigned his soul, departing under violence, into the hands of Christ himself. When he died, he said, ‘Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.’ This is the last victorious act of faith, wherein its conquest over its last enemy, death itself, doth consist. Herein the soul says, in and unto itself, Thou art now taking leave of time unto eternity; all things about thee are departing as shades, and will immediately disappear. The things which thou art entering into are yet invisible; such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor will they enter into the heart of man fully to conceive. Now therefore with quietness and confidence give up thyself unto the sovereign power, grace, truth, and faithfulness of God, and thou shalt find assured rest and peace.

“But Jesus Christ it is, who doth immediately receive the souls of those who believe in him. So we see in the instance of Stephen. And what can be a greater encouragement to resign them into his hands,

than a daily contemplation of his glory, in his person, his power, his exaltation, his office, and grace! Who that believes in him, who that belongs to him, can fear to commit his departing spirit to his love, power, and care? Even we also shall hereby in our dying moments see, by faith, heaven opened, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God, ready to receive us. This added unto the love which all believers have to the Lord Jesus, which is inflamed by the contemplation of his glory, and their desires to be with him where he is, will strengthen and confirm our minds in the resignation of our departing souls into his hand.

“Second. It is required in us to the same end, that we be ready and willing to part with the flesh wherewith we are clothed, with all things that are useful and desirable to it.

“The soul and body are naturally and necessarily unwilling to fall into a state of separation, wherein the one shall cease to be what it was, and the other knows not clearly how it shall subsist. The body claspeth about the soul, and the soul receiveth strange impressions from its embraces, the entire nature existing in the union of them both, being unalterably averse to a dissolution.

“Wherefore, unless we can overcome this inclination, we can never die comfortably or cheerfully. We would indeed rather choose to be clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life, that the clothing of glory might come on our whole nature, soul and body, without dissolution. But if this may not be, yet then do believers so conquer this inclination by faith, and views of the glory of Christ, as to attain a desire of this dissolution. So the apostle testifies of himself, ‘I have a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better’ than to abide here, Phil. i. 23. Not an ordinary desire, not that which worketh in me now and then, but a constant habitual inclination working in vehement acts and desires. But how is it possible that a man should attain such an inclination unto, such a

readiness for, such a vehement desire of a dissolution? It is from a view by faith, of Christ and his glory, whence the soul is satisfied, that to be with him is incomparably better than to be in its present state and condition.

“Third. There is required hereunto, a readiness to comply with the times and seasons wherein God would have us depart and leave this world.

“No man can die cheerfully or comfortably, who lives not in a constant resignation of the time and season of his death unto the will of God, as well as himself with respect to death itself. Our times are in his hand, at his sovereign disposal, and his will in all things must be complied with. Without this resolution, without this resignation, no man can enjoy the least solid peace in this world.

“Fourth. As the times and seasons, so the way and means of the approaches of death, have especial trials, which, unless we are prepared for them, will keep us under bondage with the fear of death itself. Long wasting, wearing consumptions, burning fevers, strong pains of the stone, or the like, from within; or sword, fire, tortures, with shame and reproach, from without, may be in the way of the access of death to us. Some who have been wholly freed from all fears of death, as a dissolution of nature; who have looked on it as amiable and desirable in itself, have yet had great exercise in their minds about these ways of its approach: they have earnestly desired that this peculiar bitterness of the cup might be taken away. To get above all perplexities on the account of these things, is part of our wisdom in dying daily. And we are to have always in readiness, those graces and duties which are necessary thereunto. Such is a constant resignation of ourselves, in all events, unto the sovereign will, pleasure, and disposal of God. May He not do what he will with his own? Is it not right and meet it should be so? Is not his will in all things infinitely holy, wise, just, and



good? Doth he not know what is best for us? and what conduces most unto his own glory? doth not he alone do so? So it is to live in the exercise of faith, that if God calls us to any of those things, which are peculiarly dreadful unto our natures, he will give us such supplies of spiritual strength and patience, as shall enable us to undergo them, if not with ease and joy, yet with peace and quietness beyond our expectation.

“Multitudes have had experience, that those things which at a distance have had an aspect of overwhelming dread, have been far from insupportable in their approach, when strength has been received from above, to encounter with them. And, moreover, it is in this case required, that we be frequent and steady in comparing these things with those which are eternal, both as to the misery which we are freed from, and that blessedness which is prepared for us. But I shall proceed no farther with these particulars.

“None of all the things we have insisted on, neither the resignation of a departing soul into the hand of God, nor a willingness to lay down this flesh in the dust, nor a readiness to comply with the will of God, as to the times and seasons, or the way and manner of the approach of death, can be attained unto, without a prospect of that glory which shall give us a new state, far more excellent than what we here leave or depart from. This we cannot have, whatever we pretend, unless we have some present views of the glory of Christ. An apprehension of the future manifestation of it in heaven will not relieve us, if here we know not what it is, and wherein it consists—if we have not some previous discovery of it in this life. This is that which will make all things easy and pleasant to us, even death itself, as it is a means to bring us unto its full enjoyment.”

Dr. Owen was speechless for several hours previously to his death; but showed, by the elevation of his eyes and

hands, that he retained the use of his mental faculties and his devotional feelings to the last. He expired on August 24, 1683, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

His remains were removed from Ealing to London, where they lay till the 4th of September, when they were conducted to the grave in Bunhill-fields, attended by the carriages of sixty-seven noblemen and gentlemen, besides many mourning coaches and gentlemen on horseback.

Such attention and respect bear testimony to the excellence of his character, and to the high admiration of his spiritual and moral worth.

A funeral discourse was preached on the following Lord's day, by his successor, Mr. Clarkson, in which he thus summarily describes the doctor's character, and depicts the loss which the church was called to endure.

"But we may mourn, we of this congregation have a particular cause to do it. I shall speak something of that excellent person that we have lost; but what I shall say, as the time will permit me, is but little concerning that great worthy. It was my unhappiness that I had so little and late acquaintance with him, which makes me not competent for such an undertaking; the account that is due to the world, requires a volume, and a better hand than mine, which I hope it will meet with in time; only let me touch some generals, which may help us to a sense of our loss, without which we are not likely to make such an improvement of it, as the Lord expects from those upon whom his hand is fallen so heavy.

"A great light is fallen; one of eminency for holiness, learning, parts, and abilities; a pastor, a scholar, a divine of the first magnitude; holiness gave a divine lustre to his other accomplishments, it shined in his whole course, and was diffused through his whole conversation. I need not tell you of this that knew him, and observed that it was his great design to promote holiness in the power, life, and exercise of it

among you. It was his great complaint that the power of it declined among professors. It was his care and endeavour to prevent or cure spiritual decays in his own flock. He was a burning and a shining light, and you for a while rejoiced in his light: alas! that it was but for a while, and that we cannot rejoice in it still!

“Those practical discourses which he published to the world, did give a taste that his spirit and temper was under the influence and power of holiness. There are some creatures that love to bark at the light, instead of making a better use of it: he met with such, I mean some that wrote against him, who thought themselves concerned to represent him odious to the world, but with great advantage to him, because they could not do it but by groundless surmises, and false suggestions, such as showed the authors of them malicious, and rendered them ridiculous.

“He was master of all parts of learning requisite to an accomplished divine; those that understood him, and will be just, cannot deny him the reputation and honour of a great scholar; and those that detract from him in this, seem to be led by a spirit of envy, that would not suffer them willingly to see so great an ornament among those that are of another persuasion. Indeed he had parts able to master any thing he applied himself unto, though he restrained himself to those studies which might render him most serviceable to Christ, and the souls of men. He had extraordinary intellectuals, a vast memory, a quick apprehension, a clear and piercing judgment; he was a passionate lover of light and truth, of divine truth especially; he pursued it unweariedly, through painful and wasting studies, such as impaired his health and strength, such as exposed him to those distempers with which he conflicted many years: and some may blame him for this as a sort of intemperance, but it is the most excusable of any, and looks like a voluntary martyrdom. However it showed

he was ready to spend, and he spent for Christ: he did not bury his talent, with which he was richly furnished, but still laid it out for the Lord who had intrusted him. He preached while his strength and liberty would serve, then by discourse and writing.

“That he was an excellent preacher none will deny who knew him, and knew what preaching was, and think it not the worse because it is spiritual and evangelical. He had an admirable facility in discoursing on any subject, pertinently and decently, and could better express himself extempore, than others with premeditation. He was never at a loss for want of expression; a happiness few can pretend to; and this he could show upon all occasions, in the presence of the highest persons in the nation, and from the greatest to the meanest. He hereby showed he had the command of his learning. His vast reading and experience was hereby made useful, in resolving doubts, clearing what was obscure, advising in perplexed and intricate cases, and breaches, or healing those which sometimes seemed incurable. Not only we, but all his brethren will have reason to bewail the loss of him. His conversation was not only advantageous in respect to his pleasantness and obligingness; but there was that in it which made it desirable to great persons, natives and foreigners.

“I need speak nothing of his writings, they commend themselves to the world. If holiness, learning, and a masculine unaffected style can commend any thing, his practical discourses cannot but find much acceptance with those who are sensible of their soul concerns, and can relish that which is divine, and value that which is not common or trivial. His excellent ‘Comment upon the Hebrews’ gained him a name and esteem, not only at home, but in foreign countries. When he had finished it, (and it was a merciful providence that he lived to finish it,) he said, ‘Now my work is done, it is time for me to die.’ There were several other discourses that seem controversial and are so: our loss

of him in this respect seems to be irreparable, for any thing that is in our present prospect. The due management of controversies requires so great abilities, that there is not one among a hundred of our divines competently qualified for that; and the truths of the gospel, which should be dearer to us than our outward concerns, are likely to be suppressed or adulterated, unless the Spirit of truth stir up and empower some to assert and vindicate them. He had a singular dexterity this way, for the managing of controversies; and those truths that he vindicated, were such as were most in danger by the apostatizing spirit of this age: some may think his genius led him much to study debates, but so far as I have observed, he did not affect to be an aggressor, but still was on the defensive, and proceeded with such temper, that he would rather oblige his adversary, if a lover of truth, than exasperate him. He made it appear he did not write so much against any man's person, as for the truth: I heard one of them declare, it would not trouble a man to be opposed in such a way as this great doctor did treat his greatest antagonist. It is usual with persons of extraordinary parts, to straggle from the common road, and affect novelty, though thereby they lose the best company; as though they could not appear eminent, unless they march alone. But this great person did not affect singularity; they were old truths that he endeavoured to defend, those that were transmitted to us by our first reformers, and owned by the best divines of the church of England. What the truth has lost by this, I cannot easily say.

“But it falleth heaviest, and most directly upon this congregation; we had a light in this candlestick; which did not only enlighten the room, but gave light to others far and near; but it is put out; we did not sufficiently value it; I wish I might not say, that our sins have put it out. We had a special honour and ornament, such as other churches would much prize; but



the crown is fallen from our heads; yea, may I not add, woe unto us, for we have sinned, we have lost an excellent pilot, and lost him when a fierce storm is coming upon us, when we have most need of him. I dread the consequences, considering the weakness of those that are left at the helm. If we are not sensible of it, it is because our blindness is great. Let us beg of God, that he would prevent what this threatens us with, and that he would make up this loss, or that it may be repaired, or at least that the sad consequences of it may be prevented. And let us pray, in the last words of this dying person to me, 'That the Lord would double his Spirit upon us, that he would not remember against us former iniquities; but that his tender mercies may speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low.'

*Concluding observations on his character and writings.*

The distinguishing feature in Dr. Owen's religious character was spirituality. Amid the engagements, the bustle and turmoil of his varied situations, he retained the power and spirit of an elevated devotion. His experimental and devotional writings are the transcripts of his own views and feelings. They are not the productions of a mere theorist, but of one who had "tasted, handled, and felt the word of life." His rich, varied, and exuberant illustrations of the essential truths of religion, show his comprehensive acquaintance with the whole economy of redemption. "He stands," says the late Rev. R. Cecil, "at the head of his class of divines. His scholars will be more profound and enlarged, and better furnished, than those of most other writers." A careful perusal and study of his writings will, under the divine blessing, prove highly beneficial. A prejudice exists against them on account of their style. A little attention, however, will render the peculiarities of that style familiar; and the more they are read the less difficult will they appear, and the greater the benefit that will result.



His heaviest writings are his controversial works. His devotional and practical treatises, though they abound in the numerous divisions which was the fashion of his day, are eminently distinguished for their clear, vigorous, and manly style.

His versatility of talent, his industry, and his varied learning, are shown by the list of his publications. His entire works would fill thirty large octavo volumes. Those published occupy twenty-eight. A long life, devoted exclusively to writing, would seem insufficient for such works; and they are truly surprizing, when we consider the diversified and harassing engagements of his varied offices, as minister of a living, chaplain of an army, preacher before parliament, dean and vice-chancellor of the university, and minister of a congregation. The character of his writings shows his profound deference to the scriptures, and his deep solicitude, alike to promote the interests of truth, and to enjoy its influence in his own soul.

By these numerous writings, "he, though dead, still speaketh." Generations have passed away since he laboured personally on earth, but his labours survive him, and his usefulness has not yet ceased. Nor, indeed, is it probable that his usefulness will cease, till "time shall be no more," and hence the means of religious and spiritual instruction will be no longer needed. His writings are a blessing to the church and the world, and will be preserved and read by all succeeding generations of men. And O, what joy must it awaken in his pure and blissful spirit, now in glory, to find that he is still assisting to direct the inquirer in the way to Zion, to strengthen the faith, and promote the spirituality of the disciples of his Lord and Master! "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

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